

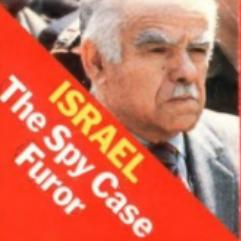
MARCH 23, 1987

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TIME

BANG!

ISRAEL
The Spy Case
Furor



A Star Explodes, Providing New Clues
To the Nature of the Universe

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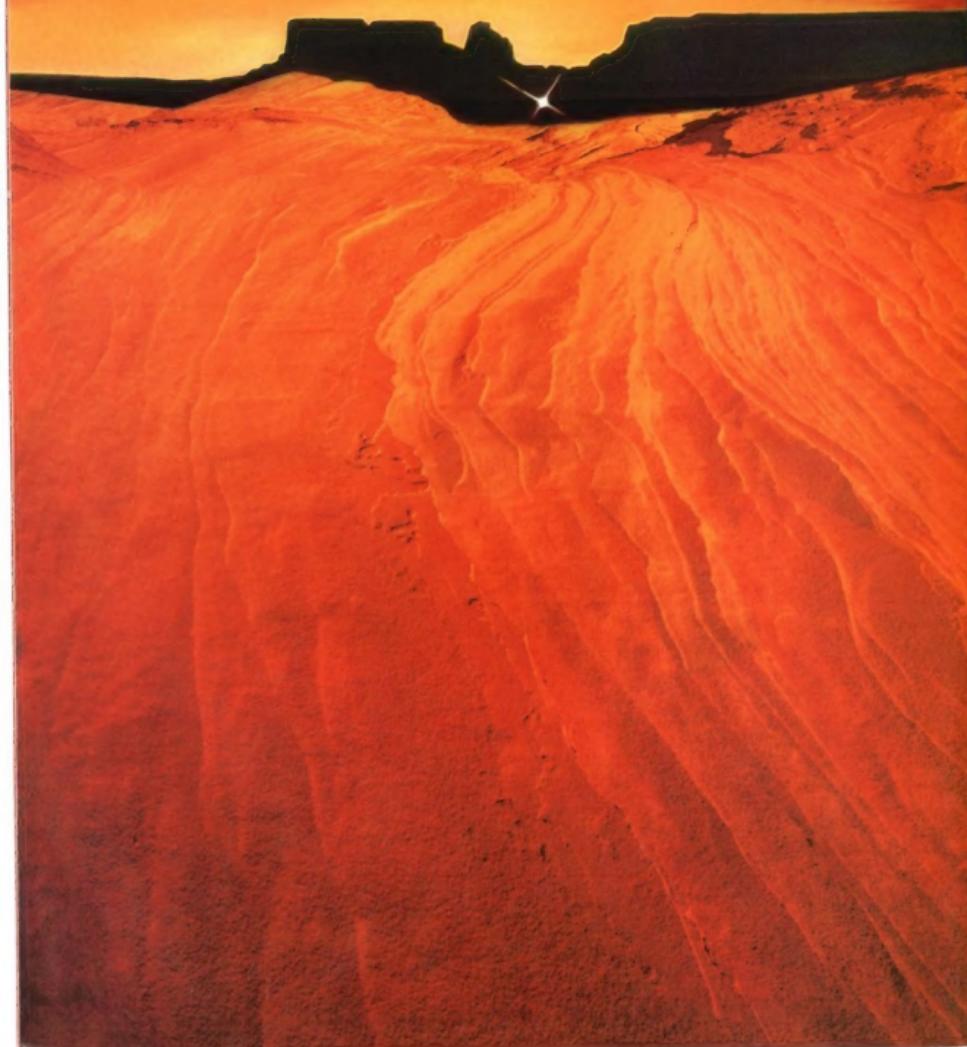


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• CHANDLER •

THE WINDS OF CHANGE ARE
BLOWING AT CHEVROLET



American Scene

In Illinois: The Longest Jury Trial Drones On

"All rise," intones Bailiff Marlene Augustine, and as they have more than 2,000 times before, the jurors and lawyers dutifully comply. Into courtroom 14 of the St. Clair County building in Belleville, Ill., strides the Hon. Richard Goldenhersh, presiding judge in the matter of *Frances E. Kemner et al. v. Monsanto Co.*, Case No. 80-L-970 in the 20th Circuit, State of Illinois. The judge nods a greeting, settles into his leather chair, and trial day No. 534 begins. Another record is set.

Welcome to the longest-running jury trial in U.S. history, now into its fourth year. "It should be over before the end of this year," Judge Goldenhersh says wearily. "But I'm a poor prophet. When it started on Feb. 22, 1984, I told the jury on advice of counsel the case might take six months to a year."

The Kemner sessions verge on terminal boredom. Some jurors take notes as the trials drag on. But all too often eyes glaze over. Yawns are frequent. One alternate juror appears to doze from time to time. "They do well to stay awake," concedes the plaintiffs' attorney, Rex Carr. "This isn't the kind of stuff that keeps you on the edge of your seat." The numbing routine continues five days a week, six hours a day, with an hour out for lunch and brief midmorning and midafternoon breaks, plus a Christmas-New Year recess and a two-week summer vacation.

At issue is more than \$50 million in compensatory and punitive damages claimed by 65 plaintiffs, following a train wreck in Sturgeon, Mo., on the night of Jan. 10, 1979. A tank car on a Norfolk & Western freight broke a coupling and derailed, spilling 19,000 gallons of orthochlorophenol. Sturgeon was evacuated for two days while the spill was cleaned up. Then Monsanto announced that the spilled chemical contained a minute amount of dioxin, the type designated as 2,3,7,8-TCDD and described as the most toxic synthetic chemical known to man. A mere thimbleful was involved. But because the compound has been linked to cancer, fear swept Sturgeon, and the Kemner case took shape.

Named for its lead plaintiff, a retired schoolteacher, the case was originally filed in Boone County, Mo., where the spill occurred. But Carr refiled it, over Monsanto's objection, in St. Clair County, Ill., where the chemical was made. He was well aware that juries have been generous there. Complains Monsanto Lawyer David Snively: "St. Clair

is renowned as a plaintiff's paradise."

Over another Monsanto objection, Carr got all the spill cases consolidated, so the proceedings involved 65 plaintiffs, each with multiple medical complaints from alleged dioxin exposure. More than 80,000 pages of testimony from 167 witnesses have been transcribed so far. The case file is already five feet thick. Over 6,000 exhibits have been entered into evidence.

Every morning of the trial, Monsanto's lawyers trundle boxes of documents to court on baggage carts from leased offices

James R. Webster, chief of medicine at Chicago's Northwestern Memorial Hospital, is now in the process of disputing Dr. Carnow, dot by dot, testifying that all alleged ills either predated the spill or could have been caused by something other than dioxin. By the time he has finished, every red dot will be crossed out, and the jury will then have to decide whether any dot is legitimate.

The glassy-eyed jurors are paid a piddling \$5 a day, plus a miserly 10¢ a mile for getting to and from court. Most continue to draw salaries from their pretrial employers. Four jurors have been excused for illness or injury since the trial began. The original juror panel of 18 is now down to 14, including two alternates. If the number falls below twelve, a mistrial is likely. Carr charges Monsanto with scheming to force one through a strategy of "delay, delay and more delay."

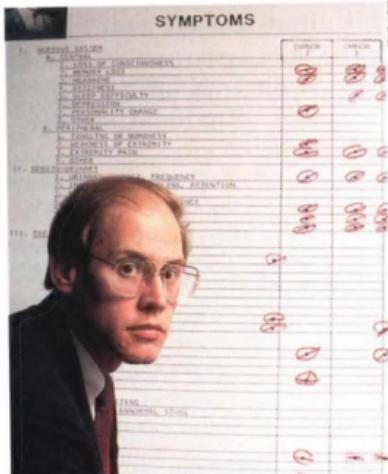
Critics say Monsanto appears determined to make it prohibitively expensive and time consuming for plaintiffs, both present and future, to sue. It has moved for mistrial 31 times so far, and sought dismissal of the case for "impermissible forum shopping" in moving it from Missouri to Illinois.

But Monsanto is hardly responsible for all trial delays. A month-long recess was forced in 1985, when one juror underwent an appendectomy and hysterectomy. For his part, the judge has officiated at the marriage of a juror's child and twice juggled the trial valuation to accommodate juror honeymoons. "This court cannot stand in the way of love," he states. Or of birth, for that matter. He declared a day off when one juror's mare dropped a foal.

The jurors range in age from mid-20s to early 70s. Old friends by now, they celebrate each anniversary of the Kemner trial with a birthday cake. Two years ago, on Judge Goldenhersh's 40th birthday, they presented him with a silver plaque inscribed with their names and juror numbers.

The jury will have to decide not only the question of Monsanto's guilt but the amount of damages to be assessed. If Monsanto loses, it will almost certainly appeal, in which case an appellate judge might take the better part of a year just to read over the record. Attorney friends have told Carr, who is 60, that he may be senile before he sees a dollar of Monsanto money. "Maybe," he replies, "I was senile when I agreed to get into this fight in the first place."

—By Lee Griggs



Defense Lawyer Snively with a plaintiff's red dots

two blocks away. The courtroom is cluttered with 4-ft. by 5-ft. symptom boards, outlining alleged dioxin-related plaintiff ills ranging from headaches and high blood pressure to depression and decreased sexual desire. Carr concedes that "none of my clients is falling down sick." But the core of his case concerns possible future cancer developing from dioxin exposure in the 1979 spill.

The symptom boards contain more than 4,000 red dots, each denoting an alleged plaintiff ailment. Dr. Bertram W. Carnow, director of environmental medicine at the University of Illinois, spent 76 days on the witness stand—at a fee of \$3,000 a day to his Chicago health-consultancy firm—putting the dots up as expert witness for the plaintiffs, contending the ills the dots represent could be dioxin-related. Monsanto's rebuttal expert, Dr.

666W

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COVER: The brightest supernova in 383 years exhilarates astronomers

Light from a star that exploded when man's ancestors were still working with stone tools reaches earth after a 170,000-year journey. Scientists are elatedly studying it because they believe such flaring stars account for the creation of elements, the birth of new stars and perhaps some of the mutations that drive the evolution of terrestrial life. See SCIENCE.

60



NATION: A death pact among four youths 12 dramatizes the problem of teen suicide

As a New Jersey town asks how it could happen, experts fear that others will seek similar fatal attention. ► Senator Sam Nunn fights for strict adherence to a key arms treaty. ► Freedom for John Gotti, the Mafia's Dapper Don. ► Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole has become a hot presidential candidate. ► Marian Wright Edelman is a Washington lobbyist—for children.



WORLD: The Pollard affair casts a chill 30 over relations between the U.S. and Israel

Under mounting pressure from the Reagan Administration and American Jewish leaders, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir reluctantly names a panel to investigate the spy case. ► Stubborn support for a sales tax puts Japan's Nakasone on a political hot seat. ► A new book presents an intriguing idea for solving the South African dilemma: cantonal government.



40 Economy & Business

In a daring move, Chrysler will buy AMC. ► The merger whirlwind blows anew. ► A transatlantic insider-trading scam.

58 Religion

A stern Vatican declaration denounces surrogate motherhood and most of the other artificial techniques of human reproduction.

70 Law

The Supreme Court opens the door a bit wider for refugees seeking asylum. ► A libel judgment against the Washington *Post* is reversed.

75 Press

After a painful round of layoffs, CBS News staffers debate whether the network has just trimmed fat or done itself serious harm.

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82 Milestones
83 Books
86 Cinema

77 Sexes

Awareness grows about the phenomenon known as "date rape." ► Money for the Mayflower madam, this time from a book.

78 Sport

At least during spring training, baseball is neither a game of inches nor a business measured only in dollars and cents.

90 Theater

Les Misérables, an epic musical of the down-trodden in bygone Paris, opens to Broadway box-office records—and deserves them.

92 Music

At the Metropolitan Opera, Director Franco Zeffirelli stages a *Turandot* that is a monument to glorious—or is it wretched?—excess.

Cover:
Illustration by
Geoffrey Chandler

A Letter from the Publisher

Sometime during his vacation in Guatemala this week, Staff Writer Michael Lemonick will unpack his amateur astronomer's 4-in. reflecting telescope, set it on its tripod and focus low on the southern horizon. His target: the pinprick of light from Supernova 1987A, the exploding star that is the subject of his cover story in this week's issue. Lemonick, who lives in Princeton, N.J., has made a hobby of stargazing for the past two years. "I usually set up the telescope in my backyard, but Princeton is just too far north to see 1987A. If you travel all the way to Chile, you can see it high in the sky—I'm hoping that in Central America, I can catch a glimmer of it."

To prepare for the cover, Lemonick, along with Reporters-Researchers David Bjerkle and Carol Johmann, pored over a mountainous stack of scientific findings that had accumulated in the three weeks following the first sighting of the supernova. The importance of the event caught the imagination of the Science section staff. "It is something I never expected to see in my lifetime," says Sciences Editor Leon Jaroff, who conceived and edited the cover. "When you look out on a starry night, you're really looking backward in time. The light from the nearest star was emitted four years and four months



Lemonick, Jaroff and Bjerkle with 4-in. telescope

ago. This explosion in the southern skies happened before our species evolved. It dramatically marks the death of a star." Adds Bjerkle: "We had been thinking of a cover story on our sun, but it has only a few little fluctuations—nothing as eye-popping as this."

The enthusiasm among the members of TIME's headquarters team was confirmed by reports from Washington Correspondent Dick Thompson, who covered a NASA meeting on 1987A at the Goddard Space Flight Center, and Rio de Janeiro Bureau Chief Gavin Scott, who flew to northern Chile, where astrophysicists first sighted 1987A. Chicago Correspondent Madeleine Nash, who specializes in science, canvassed supernova experts from Cambridge, Mass., to Santa Cruz, Calif. Says Nash: "I had heard of supernovas, of course, but was only dimly aware of their importance." After a few interviews, she became an aficionado. "The energy released by a supernova makes Mount St. Helens or Krakatoa look absolutely puny in comparison," she declares. "The explosive death of a star is truly worthy of our awe."

Robert L. Miller

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Letters

Divine Miss M

To the Editors:

Your cover story on Bette Midler [SHOW BUSINESS, March 2] filled me with elation. She may not sing like Barbra Streisand, but she can instill a song with brutal honesty and display a sense of humor that is at once deliciously decadent, vile and intelligent.

Mauricio Leiseca
Miami



I have always thought of Bette Midler as one of the most underrated talents on this planet. More important, she comes across as a genuinely nice person.

Ruth Fried
Baltimore

I cannot understand why it has taken America so long to wake up and appreciate the talent of the Divine Miss M. She has experienced both joy and hardship in her life but has come out on top because she believes in herself.

David B. Baden
Baden-Baden, West Germany

Pros and *Contras*

I commend you for your cogent Essay supporting assistance to the *contras* in Nicaragua [ESSAY, March 2]. Communist expansion in the Americas is a reality that will not be erased by wishful thinking. Unfortunately, there are many in the Congress who think it will.

Raymond T. Isherwood
Gainesville, Fla.

Charles Krauthammer's voice is one of sanity concerning funding for the *contras*. Too little attention has been paid to the fact that the Sandinistas are avowedly expansionist and pro-Soviet and have replaced one dictatorship, the Somozas regime, with another. The current government has imposed censorship on the independent press and broadcast stations, abolished the right to strike, and conscripted its young citizens into an army

larger than that of four of its Central American neighbors combined. The people of this region will not be well served by another Soviet satellite in their midst.

Bonny S. Wright
Glenside, Pa.

In his rush to embrace the *contras*, Krauthammer perpetuates the lies the Reagan Administration has been feeding us for six years. Nicaragua a Soviet base in the Americas? How about Turkey an American base on the Soviet border? International morality? No mention is made of the World Court's condemnation of the mining of Nicaraguan harbors. Nicaraguans do not enjoy American liberties? Nicaragua enjoys a pretty good human rights record in comparison with that of some of the governments the U.S. supports in the area. American money is the only thing that keeps the *contras* from vanishing. That is the reason they will never win.

William E. Oyler
Mound, Minn.

Your essayist is correct on one point: the *contra*-aid issue ought to be debated solely on its merits. Last year President Reagan won \$100 million for the *contras* not by debating the case but by using popularity and acting ability to foist on the American people an amazing collection of facts, half-truths, exaggerations and outright fabrications about Nicaragua. Now that the *Iran-contra* arms scandal has diminished Reagan's image and his power to delude, it is time for Congress to require a rational policy toward Nicaragua based on realistic assessments and respect for international law.

(The Rev.) Daniel R. Erdman
Managua

Krauthammer writes that "Americans value freedom in their own country. They would not tolerate the political conditions that Nicaraguans must suffer." Neither would Americans tolerate the presence in their country of an insurgent rebel force supplied by a foreign power with arms, money and advice.

John Figueras
Victor, N.Y.

Your polemic does not mention the Contadora process, the civilized negotiating approach to the Central American problem endorsed by most of the Western world. Why not try the peaceful approach first? There is always time for war later.

Robert C. Goodman
Northridge, Calif.

Vet Views *Platoon*

As a veteran of 33 months' service in Viet Nam, I would like to comment on the film *Platoon* [SHOW BUSINESS, Jan. 26]. It is a tour de force. The battle scenes are excellent, and the portrayal of the troops well done for the most part. My principal objec-

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While this has given you more choices about where to invest your money, it's also created the potential for more confusion and mistakes.

In today's confusing world of

financial services, there are really only four basic things that you need to know to evaluate investments and make prudent investment decisions:

Risk.

Return.

Reputation.

And liquidity.

Generally, the higher risk, the higher potential return.

The key word there is "*potential.*"

A 'high' risk investment may offer you a high rate of return on your investment—but economic or

market conditions may reduce it—even, in some cases, returning less money than you invested.

For example, if you buy stock, in a company for \$20 a share, minutes later the stock may sell for more or less. The potential return may be great. The actual return may prove to be a loss.

Conversely, you can make investments that offer you a guaranteed return—but usually at a lower rate than you'll get from riskier investments.

Savings institutions, for example, offer you savings accounts and certificates of deposit that guarantee the return of your investment and the interest it earns while it's invested (up to \$100,000).

As one wise financial investor put it, the return *of* your money should be a greater concern than the return *on* your money. With a savings account or CD from our members, you'll get both.

Choosing between high risk and low or no risk investments is a matter of evaluating your own financial position and future financial needs.

Prudent financial advisors recommend that you have a savings account equal to roughly six months' pay, before you begin making riskier investments.

It gives you a guaranteed financial cushion, that you can get to quickly. Because a savings account is highly liquid—which means you don't have to wait to get your money.

Beyond this cushion, how much of your money can be in less liquid investments? And how much risk should you be willing to take?

Generally speaking, the younger you are, the greater the risk you can handle. And the less liquidity you need.

At any age, though, you should structure the liquidity of investments to make sure you always can get to the money you need, when you need it.

Investments maturing in 30 years aren't good choices to pay for your toddler's college education. But may be just right as a nest egg for your retirement.

With all investments, you should consider the reputation of the institution offering it.

And always remember: the higher the return, the higher the risk. And the more important it is to be sure you're handing your money over to a reputable institution.

With this information in mind, you may not always make the best investment decisions. But you certainly won't make the worst.

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West Marion S&L, Chicago IL
Wood River S&L, Wood River IL
Yankton S&L, Yankton SD

Letters

tion to this production is the sequence in which the 25th Division rifle-company men occupy and sack a so-called Viet Cong village. Whereas incidents such as this may well have happened (and My Lai is history), the American soldiers I observed in this tortured land were in most cases merciful, caring and meticulous in their handling of suspect personnel.

My second objection relates to the blood rivalry between the two noncommissioned officers, Barnes and Elias. For sure, there were weak officers in that war, as in every war. For sure, there were complex rivalries in isolated instances, but not of the intensity that *Platoon* depicts. No combat unit could sustain those conditions for any length of time. The problem would soon come to the attention of those responsible for the group and it would then be corrected.

As a veteran of two wars, Korea and Viet Nam, I can say the Viet Nam soldier far surpassed his Korean War predecessor in overall professionalism and dedication to U.S. objectives. His basic problem was that those objectives were often unclear. This was not the soldier's fault, but he made the best of it. In conclusion, I forward this letter to explain that the characteristics of the leaders portrayed in *Platoon* do not apply to our military forces across the board.

George S. Patton
Major General, U.S.A. (ret.)
South Hamilton, Mass.

Mending Mexico

In your article about Mexico "A Swelling Tide of Troubles" [WORLD, Feb. 23], you demonstrate a lack of knowledge of the history, culture and patterns of development of Mexico. Furthermore, the article is contradictory when it states on the one hand that Mexico's standard of living has fallen and points out the low minimum wage (\$3.45 a day) and last year's twenty-fold increase in Mexico City's subway fare. On the other hand, the report asserts that in order to dampen inflation, it would be necessary to reduce food-price subsidies and curb wages. Ironically, you add that serious austerity measures are nowhere in sight.

The story concludes with the sensationalist statement: "For most [Mexicans] the yearning for a better life is tempered by the knowledge that things can—and probably will—get much worse." It is regrettable that this article will only contribute to misinforming American readers about what is really happening in Mexico.

*Jorge Espinosa de los Reyes
Ambassador to the U.S.
Washington*

Feeding the Comatose

To those in your article who defend the cutting off of nourishment for comatose patients (ETHICS, Feb. 23), I would

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Letters

simply like to say. There are many places in the world where one can die of starvation. Certainly, hospitals should not be among them.

Sharon Fleming
Lima

We strongly resent the intrusion of the New Jersey Catholic bishops in the cause of our daughter Nancy Ellen Jones, whose case is now before the New Jersey Supreme Court. Nancy is Presbyterian. The bishops' authority applies to Roman Catholics only, and their brief to the court is therefore unwarranted. Nancy told friends and family she would never want to be kept alive like Karen Ann Quinlan, and so we are trying to fulfill her wishes. Nancy's mind and spirit died seven years ago; it took a long time for us to accept that fact. We must allow her body to be put to rest. Every day that she is maintained is an affront to her dignity.

Eleanor and Bob Laird
Morris Plains, N.J.

Defending Drexel

Your account of recent developments in the insider-trading investigation (ECONOMY & BUSINESS, Feb. 23) contains inaccurate information about Drexel Burnham Lambert.

You report that Martin Siegel was targeted in the investigation "because of his position at Drexel Burnham." According to the Securities and Exchange Commission, Siegel was subpoenaed to provide information about his employment prior to his association with our firm. All of the allegations against Siegel relate to matters that occurred before his joining our firm one year ago.

You also cite Drexel Burnham's 1986 profits, which you claim are principally "connected with its ability to sell takeover-related junk bonds." As a privately held firm, Drexel Burnham has never disclosed its earnings, and is under no obligation to do so. For the record, of the \$40 billion of public financing that Drexel Burnham managed in 1986, only 6% related to hostile or unsolicited takeovers.

You observe that our business is "limping badly." In fact, January 1987 was Drexel Burnham's fifth most profitable month ever, and business overall continues strong.

Robert E. Linton, Chairman
Drexel Burnham Lambert
New York City

TIME regrets having linked the investigation of Martin Siegel with his position at Drexel Burnham Lambert. Siegel's conviction relates to his activities during his prior employment with the investment-banking firm of Kidder, Peabody.

Politics in Physics

In his book *Nobel Dreams: Power, Deceit and the Ultimate Experiment* (SCIENCE, Feb. 9), Gary Taubes shows he

does not understand the new sociology in science. Until a few years ago, research was the output of the individual or a few people. Today the collaboration may include more than 100 researchers, which can generate personality clashes. In science, as in other activities, individuals will sometimes behave as described in the book in order to get a Nobel Prize. But these tactics alone will not get them the prize; their work must be of Nobel quality.

*Guido Barbiellini
CERN Physicist
Geneva*

In your article "How to Win a Nobel Prize," I am quoted in a way that implies I agree with the thesis of Author Gary Taubes that politics is more important than science in particle physics. This may be Taubes' opinion, but in my experience, the scientific standards in particle physics are as high as or even higher than those in other areas of physics.

The sentence you quote from my interview about the presence of "s.o.b.s" in the field was intended as an ironic summary of comments I made earlier on the competitiveness, hard politicking and strong personalities in particle physics. As printed, it appears as an indirect insult to Carlo Rubbia, which certainly was not my intention.

*Bernard Sadoulet
Professor of Physics
University of California
Berkeley*

Rossignol on the Slopes

Your article about the Rossignol Ski Co. (ECONOMY & BUSINESS, Feb. 23) lacked some important details. As you stated, Rossignol stock did experience a downturn during the world championships in Crans-Montana, Switzerland. It is important to note, however, that the stock was still trading at higher levels than it had been just three weeks earlier.

Your story also suggests that none of the eight Swiss gold-medal winners used Rossignols. Three of the eight did. Further, you indicate that French Ski Team Member Philippe Verneret did better after switching from Rossignol skis to another brand. Actually, Verneret had been using Dynamic, not Rossignol skis.

*John Douglas
Rossignol Ski Co.
Williston, Vt.*

TIME regrets the misleading statements about Rossignol skis.

I frown upon the French ski team's excuse that their Rossignol skis are hampering their performance. Before the French blame their skis, they should look at the way they are racing.

*Kenneth Deitch
Berwyn, Pa.*

Today, he's off exploring the back yard. Tomorrow, he may be off exploring new galaxies.

But before the kids of today can conquer the frontiers of outer space, they'll have to conquer the complexities of mathematics, physics and chemistry. That's where you come in.

For only with your help can they be assured of the first-rate college education they'll need.

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You'll be helping launch America to a successful future.

Give to the college of your choice.



**Help him get
America's future
off the
ground.**



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be addressed to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020, and should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone. Letters may be edited for purposes of clarity or space.

Nation

TIME MARCH 23, 1987

Teen Suicide

Two death pacts shake the country

Matt Reiser had a date with Cheryl Burriss last Tuesday night in Bergenfield, N.J., near New York City, but at 6:30 Cheryl called to cancel. "We can't get together tonight," she told Reiser. "We're going to visit Joe." Reiser thought he knew what she meant. Joe Major, a friend of Cheryl's, had fallen 200 ft. to his death off the Palisades cliffs along the Hudson River last September in what police considered an alcohol-related accident, and Reiser figured that Cheryl was planning to visit Major's grave that night, as she had many times before. Reiser was wrong.

Instead, Cheryl, 17, and her sister Lisa, 16, went driving around the Bergenfield area with two companions, Thomas Olton, 18, and Thomas Rizzo, 19. At about 3 a.m., the teenagers stopped at an Amoco station and bought \$3 worth of gas for Olton's brown Camaro. They asked if they could take the hose from the station's automobile vacuum cleaner, but the attendant refused.

It was a short drive from the gas station to Foster Village apartments, a housing complex. The place was well known. Garage No. 74, vacant at least a month, had been serving as a hangout where groups of Bergenfield teenagers came to drink and to smoke marijuana. The youngsters drove into the dark garage, shut the door and locked it. They left the car idling, with the windows open. Then they sat back and waited.

The steadily burning gasoline did its job, releasing deadly carbon monoxide fumes. Within an hour all four were dead. By the end of the week they were notorious. Their multiple-death pact had traumatized their hometown, inspired copycat acts more than 700 miles away and dramatically spotlighted the painful problem of teenage suicide.

It has never been easy to be a teen-

ager, but in the past three decades adolescence seems to have become even more difficult and often fraught with real danger. Since 1950 the suicide rate has tripled among youths from 15 to 24, spurred by changing social mores, increased drug and alcohol use, and greater access to firearms, which are teenagers' favorite means of killing themselves. Teen suicide is not quite the epidemic it is sometimes portrayed to be: the rate of 12 per 100,000 for young people only recently caught up to that of the general population, and suicide is a far greater problem among the elderly. (In 1984 the suicide rate among people 75 to 84 was 22 per 100,000.) Self-inflicted deaths among teens have leveled off recently, although suicides



The end result: wheeling away a victim

among young men are still on the rise.

More immediately worrisome to parents in comfortable, middle-class Bergenfield (pop. 25,600) is what psychologists call the cluster effect: "After a suicide, there is always an increase" in copycat deaths, says Herbert Nieburg, a psychologist in nearby Westchester County, N.Y., where six boys from the area killed themselves in separate incidents over a four-



month period in 1984. The impulse to imitate a suicide can be powerful, especially among adolescents, who tend to romanticize adventure and recklessness. "Kids see that this is a glamorous way to die, a way to get a lot of attention that they couldn't get in life," says Pamela Cantor, president of the National Committee for the Prevention of Youth Suicide. "They see a kid that is a nonentity suddenly get attention, and that is what they have been struggling for."

Youngsters may not fully understand the finality of their action. Chicago Psychologist David C. Clark calls this the Tom Sawyer syndrome, in which teens imagine they are staging their own death. Says Barbara Wheeler, a suicide-prevention specialist in Omaha: "I don't think they think about being dead. They think it's a way of ending pain and solving a problem."

Public reaction can exacerbate the contagion effect. Recent studies by the University of California at San Diego and Columbia University in New York City found that the number of teenage suicides increases after television news segments or dramatic programs on the phenomenon. Events last week supported that conclusion. The day after the bodies were discovered in Bergenfield, two teenage girls were found dead under similar circumstances in Alsip, Ill., a small suburb (pop. 17,000) south of Chicago. The bodies of Karen Logan, 17, and her friend Nancy Grannan, 19, were discovered in Grannan's car, which was idling in a



Together in grief: teenagers in Bergenfield try to come to terms with the tragedy

Charlotte Ross, executive director of the Youth Suicide National Center, "people grossly underestimate the grief reaction" of adolescents to the deaths of their friends. Lisa Burress, for example, had dated Joe Major for six months before his death and was still skipping classes to visit his grave half a year after he died.

As teen cluster suicides have devastated communities across the country in recent years, school systems have set up counseling networks, including suicide-prevention training for teachers and students, suicide hotlines and community- and parent-awareness programs to help identify and deter potential victims. But problem kids often ignore offers of help. Although Bergenfield prides itself on the number of youth-support programs operating in the school district, many students did not seem to be aware of them.

The day after the Bergenfield suicides, a group of teenagers paid a night-time visit to garage No. 74 at Foster Village and spray-painted the once pastel blue door black, the paint streaking down its surface in places. Though the teenagers of Bergenfield are frightened and hurt by the deaths of their friends, it may be the parents whose shock and fear are the greatest. The adults of Bergenfield can only pray that the Pied Piper visiting their town will spare the rest of their children. "When something like this happens, I think a lot about my kids," says Barbara O'Leary, a hostess at a local diner. "I have to hope I raised them right. These are the dangerous years. You don't always know what's going on inside their heads."

By Amy Wilentz.

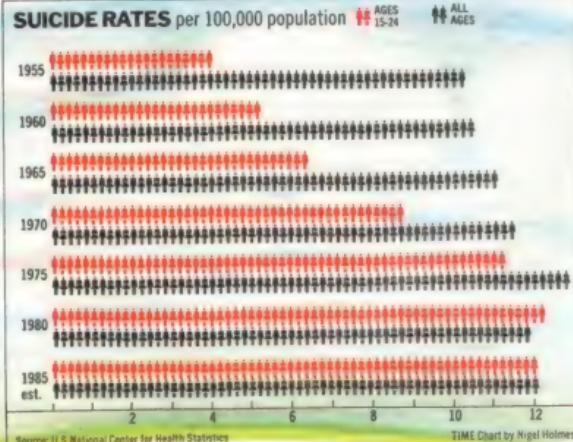
Reported by Christine Gorman and Jennifer Hull/
Bergenfield, with other bureaus

closed garage attached to the Logan home. Logan clutched a stuffed animal and a rose. Grannan held an album of her wedding photos. On the dashboard of the car, the two had left nine sealed letters to friends and relatives, as well as two notes stuck under the windshield wipers. Said Alsip Police Chief Warner Huston: "The publicity surrounding the Bergenfield incident probably gave them the impetus."

In retrospect, the Bergenfield deaths included many of the warning signs of teenage suicides: previous attempts, drug or alcohol abuse, recent depression, severe problems in school or at home, a sense that other options had been exhausted. Olton, Rizzo and Cheryl Burress had all dropped out of Bergenfield High. Lisa had just been suspended. Friends say that both Rizzo and Olton had been treated at drug- or alcohol-rehabilitation clinics. Police found superficial razor slashes on both Rizzo's and Olton's wrists the morning their bodies were discovered.

In fact, their deaths may have been part of an unacknowledged suicide cluster in Bergenfield. The death of Joe Major—a leader among the fringe students at Bergenfield High, who self-mockingly call themselves burnouts—deeply affected his circle of friends. Major's was only one of four suspicious deaths among Bergenfield youths in the nine months before last week's quadruple suicide. Two other young men were hit by trains, and another acquaintance walked into a pond and drowned. All the previous deaths were alcohol related.

But cluster warning signals, like other indications of suicidal tendencies, can often be ignored by parents, peers and teachers. "Everybody is in such a rush that we don't take the time to listen to our youngsters," says Elaine Leader, co-founder of a teen crisis hotline at Cedars-Sinai Medical Center in Los Angeles. In cases of cluster suicides, notes



Soviets in San Diego?

Washington proposes a sweeping on-site inspection plan

The idea was once considered too idealistic for serious consideration, but last week it was placed on a negotiating table in Geneva. The U.S. proposed that U.S. inspectors be stationed just outside missile-producing plants in the Soviet Union to keep an eye on what was moving to and from the factories. In return, Soviet monitors could roam the fences of such U.S. defense plants as General Dynamics in San Diego and McDonnell Douglas in Titusville, Fla.

The far-reaching proposal was designed to guarantee that any treaty that might be achieved on mobile intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) in Europe would not be violated. As the bargaining quickened on what was basically President Reagan's 1981 "zero option," under which neither NATO nor the Warsaw Pact countries would base such missiles in Europe, the U.S. negotiators talked and quickly announced the stiff verification procedures.

Both sides at the Iceland summit accepted in principle a plan that would require the U.S. to remove the 316 Pershing II and cruise missiles that were deployed by NATO allies beginning in 1983; the Soviets would be required to remove the missiles that NATO's controversial deployment was designed to counter: 270 SS-20s that are targeted on Western Europe. The Soviets could keep



A private U.S.-Soviet test-monitoring experiment in Kazakhstan
Would Boeing fear McDonnell Douglas inspectors more?

100 SS-20 warheads in Asia, and the U.S. could keep 100 similar warheads on its own territory.

But how can each side know that the other has moved or dismantled these weapons? The U.S. plan includes these steps: 1) inspectors from both sides would visit the missile sites and count the number of weapons deployed; 2) when the weapons had to be moved or dismantled, inspectors would be allowed to observe these actions; 3) permanent observers from each nation would be permitted to monitor sites where the remaining 100 missiles were kept; 4) similar observation posts would be created at the perimeter of the plants where missiles are produced; 5) each side could call for a limited num-

ber of inspections of any site on short notice if a credibility question arose.

U.S. defense contractors seemed in no position to object to having Soviet observers watching them. Said one industry

spokesman: "We'll do whatever our customer proposes." Observed Richard Perle, the outgoing Assistant Secretary of Defense: "I would think that Boeing would be more concerned about an inspector from McDonnell Douglas than from the Soviet Union. I don't think this is going to prove a serious obstacle."

As for the Soviets, they have agreed only to the general concept of on-site inspections. Soviet negotiators seemed more concerned about U.S. insistence that their shorter-range missiles also be restricted. The Soviets have 130 of these weapons, with ranges of 300 to 600 miles. In Europe, NATO has none. Soviet Arms Official Vic-

tor Karpov said Moscow would consider holding talks on the shorter-range missiles proceeding simultaneously with the INF bargaining. But he did not want the two topics linked as a package. U.S. negotiators see the two issues as intertwined.

Despite the sticky issues remaining, Karpov predicted that an INF agreement could be achieved "within six months." Secretary of State George Shultz, who will meet Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze next month, saw a possibility of even greater progress. He said that if the verification problems of an INF treaty could be solved, the same solution might apply to an agreement on long-range strategic nuclear weapons. —By Ed Magnuson.

Reported by Bruce van Voorst/Washington

Farewell, Dark Prince

Friends and critics call Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle by many names—Prince of Darkness, Darth Vader, evil genius—and the witty Perle loves them all. By title, Richard (as he is invariably referred to in Washington) is merely one of eleven Assistant Secretaries, a third-echelon Pentagon aide. In practice, Perle is widely acknowledged to be a major architect of U.S. arms-control policy, though to his opponents he is a bureaucratic Machiavelli who deviously torpedoed all reasonable prospects for agreement.

When Perle, 45, submitted his long-anticipated resignation last week, he cited with pride his having blocked "any arms-control agreement that harmed national security." Perle maintains that he has nothing against arms treaties, but he insists that "you have to be prepared to resist the temptation to sign bad ones." Despite his reputation, Perle was the author of the so-called zero-

option proposal for eliminating intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe, which has become the framework for current talks.

Perle's resignation came just as the U.S. unveiled its verification scheme at the INF talks. Some critics see the strict provisions as a major impediment to quick negotiation or perhaps even the death knell for an INF agreement. Perle shares none of this skepticism. He is confident, he said, that the "U.S. is on the verge of a breakthrough . . . which will for the first time eliminate an entire category of weapons."

Perle's departure from the Pentagon will free him to complete a novel that will show "how Government policy battles are fought out." Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger has persuaded Perle to stay in touch as a consultant, but concedes that "this place won't be the same without Richard." Former Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger agrees, noting sardonically, "I'm glad he's leaving, but his departure lowers discernibly the average IQ of this Administration."



Parting from the Pentagon

What the ABM Treaty Means

For a U.S. Senator, Sam Nunn is unusually laconic. Last week, to make matters worse, he was suffering from laryngitis. But the Georgia Democrat, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, had a lot to say, so he stocked up on throat lozenges. In a series of speeches in the Senate, he addressed one of the most important arms-control questions today: Does the 1972 Antiballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty permit the U.S. to develop and test a space-based Star Wars system?

The Reagan Administration, eager to move ahead with its Strategic Defense Initiative, says yes. Last week—at great length, his voice often cracking—Nunn said no. The Administration's claim, he concluded, was based on a "complete and total misrepresentation" of key parts of the historical record, especially its ratification by the Senate.

Since the treaty was signed in 1972, the nuclear peace has rested on the superpowers' willingness to forgo large-scale strategic defenses, lest the accumulation of shields on one side provoke a proliferation of nuclear spears on the other. Secretary of State George Shultz and his chief arms-control adviser Paul Nitze got President Reagan to declare that the SDI program is a *research* program permitted by the ABM treaty. But in 1985 other officials—particularly Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle and State Department Legal Adviser Abraham Sofaer—launched a campaign to "re-interpret" the pact. According to them, nothing in the treaty impinges on the right of the U.S. to go beyond research and actually test space-based systems.

The history of the treaty seems to support Nunn's rejection of the "broad interpretation." If the two nations had agreed in 1972 merely to limit the ground-based interceptor missiles that existed at the time, the treaty would have become meaningless as soon as scientists invented new missile-killing technologies. For just that reason, the Nixon Administration debated how to limit what were then called "exotics"—such as laser and particle beams.

National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger wanted to ban testing and deployment of exotic systems, but not research and development. He argued that it was impossible to verify a ban on research taking place in a laboratory—and besides, it would be good to have an R & D program as a hedge against what the other side might do. The U.S. military, meanwhile, was conducting secret experiments with ground-based lasers, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff insisted that this program be exempt from any ban on development and testing. So in August 1971 the U.S. negotiating team proposed a ban on developing and testing "systems based on other physical principles." The only exception was for fixed, land-based systems.

The cryptic and cumbersome phrase "systems based on other physical principles" (the inevitable acronym OPPO) was coined by Nitze, then the Pentagon representative at the talks, and a Soviet scientist, Alexander Shchukin. They wanted a catchall term that would apply even to future systems so exotic that they were not yet a gleam in scientists' eyes. After some weeks of haggling, the two sides agreed "not to develop, test or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-

based, space-based or mobile land-based." An ABM system was defined as one "to counter strategic ballistic missiles or their elements in flight trajectory, currently consisting of" ABM interceptors, launchers and radars.

The word *currently* was inserted by a U.S. delegate at the time, Raymond Garthoff, who is now at the Brookings Institution. Without the key adverb, the treaty might have been interpreted as applying only to systems then in existence. Garthoff was underscoring that the treaty covered all systems—both those systems that were "currently" in use as well as any future ones. He emphasized that point in 1971 to his Soviet counterpart.

The Soviet representatives professed puzzlement and annoyance over how a treaty could ban "things that did not exist." They seemed in part to be trying to smoke out details of the U.S. laser program that were being shielded by the proposed language. But over time it became clear that they understood perfectly well what the U.S. had in mind—the Kremlin too wanted to develop a fixed-site, land-based facility to test large lasers, and it has since done so at Sarov-Shchagan in central Asia.

The U.S. negotiators were determined to prevent the loophole for fixed-site exotic ABMs from becoming a loophole for space-based systems. So they worked out a footnote, known as Agreed Statement 1D. It said that if "ABM systems based on other physical principles... are created in the future, specific limitations on such systems and their components would be subject to discussion." In other words, if any breakthroughs occurred in the permitted area of fixed, land-based ABMs, there would have to be new negotiations. But the treaty still banned development and testing of other systems, including space-based ones.

At a "working group" in September 1971, one of the Soviets, Victor Karpov (who remained a fixture in the arms talks until late last year), acknowledged in a statement, which became part of the classified negotiating record, that he understood what was being banned—the development, testing and deployment of futuristic systems except for fixed, ground-based government agreed to such a ban.

There was no murkiness about this in the U.S. Senate during the ratification debate. The late Henry Jackson, the hawkish Democrat of Washington, pressed Administration witnesses hard to make sure that fixed, land-based ABM projects were indeed exempt from the ban on space-based and other programs. Senator James Buckley, a Conservative-Republican from New York, voted against the treaty on the ground that "it would have the effect of prohibiting the development and testing of a laser-type system based in space."

Thus when it voted 88 to 2 to give the treaty the status of law, the Senate knew what it was doing: ratifying an explicit ban on the development and testing of space-based, exotic ABMs—precisely the type of SDI system that the Reagan Administration now argues it can develop and test under its broad interpretation of the treaty. If the Administration persists in its policy, Nunn warned, it risks a "constitutional confrontation" with the Hill and a congressional "backlash" against funding for SDI. *By Strobe Talbott*



Nation



Freshly equipped *contras* in camp near the Nicaraguan border



A day before the vote, Congressmen Bonior, Tony Coelho and Wright

Congress Shows Its Impatience

With an artful ploy, it registers coolness toward the *contras*

The *contras* have always had to fight a war on two fronts: at home, against the Soviet-supplied guns of the Sandinistas, and in Washington, against the doubts and fears of U.S. legislators. To some extent they have been caught in a Catch-22: Their failure to win military victories and popular support in Nicaragua has resulted in fitful and inconsistent support from Congress. That has made it difficult for the *contras* to do more than irritate the Sandinistas. Now, just as the *contras* seem ready to galvanize their military efforts with a new supply of direct U.S. aid, they find themselves caught in the undertow of Iran-contra, with their support in Washington again ebbing away.

Last week the House voted, 230 to 196, to place a six-month moratorium on aid to the *contras*, until there is a full accounting by the Administration of money, both public and private, generated on behalf of the rebels, including \$27 million in humanitarian aid sent in 1985. The measure, which would withhold the \$40 million remaining of the \$100 million appropriated last year, was an artful ploy linking opposition to the *contras* with congressional disgust over the Tower commission's revelations about the Administration's inept and probably illegal efforts on behalf of the *contras*. "Before we send another dime to the *contras*," said the bill's chief sponsor, Democrat David Bonior of Michigan, "we must know where the previous funds have gone."

The House vote was largely symbolic. Democratic leaders concede that even if the Senate goes along with the plan, there are not enough votes in either chamber to override the inevitable presidential veto. But the vote signals that Congress is in no mood to approve an additional \$105 million in aid, which the Administration is planning to request in the fall. Says House Speaker Jim Wright: "This exercise is very useful in awakening the Administra-

tion to the reality that it has to begin to focus on other ways to serve our interests in Central America."

Support for the House bill was spurred by the resignation of Arturo Cruz from the triumvirate that heads the United Nicaraguan Opposition: the *contras'* political arm. Cruz, a onetime Sandinista who has been a consistent advocate of democratic reforms within the rebel movement, never had much power, but his presence was a symbol that the *contras* were more than just a collection of embittered former supporters of deposed Dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle. Cruz's absence creates greater doubts about the caliber of the *contra* leadership. Elliott Abrams, the State Department's point man on the *contra* issue, disagrees. "The reform process," he argues, "will go on with or without Arturo Cruz."

Future funding for the *contras* is likely to depend on their doing something they have never yet managed to do: pose a genuine threat to the Sandinistas, showing once and for all that they are not merely a band on the run. The Administration insists it is optimistic: "We think there are things that can happen between now and the summertime that would be a good influence on receiving the money in September," said White House Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater. Noted Abrams: "By September there will be in excess of 15,000 men inside Nicaraguan fighting hard, and I don't think it's going to be so easy for the Democrats to say, 'Let's abandon them.'"

During the five months since renewed direct U.S. aid has been flowing, the *contras* have shaped up and become more formidable. Thousands of tons of U.S. equipment, from boots to grenade launchers, have arrived at air bases at Aguacate-

and Swan Island, off the Honduran coast. Each *contra* is now dressed in an olive-green uniform and carries a Soviet-made AK-47 assault rifle, a waterproof poncho, an extra pair of socks and 400 rounds of ammunition.

In the past few months as many as 7,000 men have been trained and sent in small groups—about 20 rebels each—from Honduras into Nicaragua. This is a new stage in the conflict: instead of camping out in big, vulnerable bases on the border, they are using small bands to harass the Sandinistas with hit-and-run attacks.

The *contras* have attacked targets ranging from government cooperative farms to rural stores and power pylons. But as in the past, they have hurt their cause by failing to distinguish between civilian and military targets. There were recent reports of *contras* burning down a small community's church-sponsored health clinic. Notes a State Department official: "As the degree of fighting increases, the number of human-rights-violations stories increases too." The *contras* inside Nicaragua are being supplied by clandestine airdrops, a dangerous technique. But if the resupply holds up and the money continues to flow, the *contras* are expected to step up their attacks by the summer and move into the strategically important Pacific coastal plain.

The question is whether, with another few months and another \$40 million, the *contras* will be able to carry out the kind of military moves necessary to keep the support of a restless U.S. Even with consistent funding, predicts General John Galvin, head of the U.S. Southern Command, it will take at least several years for the *contras* to overthrow the Sandinistas.

The American public, which has never really been in the *contras'* corner, has no appetite for such an extended commitment. A poll taken for TIME last month by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman found that



Cruz: adios UNO

Thursday June
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Nation

52% of 1,014 adults questioned favor cutting off all military support to the *contras*, vs. 26% who favor additional military aid and 22% not sure. The public is pessimistic about the course of events in Nicaragua: 62% believe it is "very likely" or "somewhat likely" that U.S. troops will end up fighting there.

Short of U.S. military intervention, the only alternative to supporting a guerrilla action is to bolster the diplomatic efforts that were part of the *contra* policy. Moderates in Congress claim the Administration has done little to advance the negotiations. Democratic Congressman Dave McCurdy of Oklahoma, a past supporter of *contra* aid, voted for the moratorium because of what he described as "in-epititude" on the diplomatic front. "There has been a complete undermining" of the negotiating process, he says. "What they've done is harden people like me who could have been friendly."

The Senate, which is scheduled to consider a measure similar to the House moratorium this week, displayed its own exasperation with the lack of diplomatic efforts. By 97 to 1, it endorsed the thrust of a Central American peace plan proposed last month by Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sanchez. The plan calls for an end to support for insurgent movements in Central America; a cease-fire in Nicaragua, and a discussion among its political groups on open elections and guaranteed civil rights. House Democrats released a 2½-page "Alternative U.S. Policy," which endorsed Arias' initiatives and called for a cease-fire in Nicaragua, a reduction of the Soviet military presence in the region, and resettlement of the *contras*, as well as assistance to refugees displaced by the rebels.

The Democrats have been unable to show that negotiations can succeed without the pressure exerted by the *contras*. And the Reagan Administration has been unable to offer any assurance that the *contras* will ultimately succeed. The current round of skirmishes in Washington is unlikely to prove conclusive, but it shows that time is running out on the half-baked approaches of the past.

—By Richard Stengel. Reported by Michael Duffy and Barrett Seaman/Washington

Should Congress vote additional military aid to the *contras*?

Additional assistance	26%
Cut off all support	52%
Not sure	22%

Will U.S. troops end up fighting in Nicaragua?

Very likely	23%
Somewhat likely	39%
Not likely	29%

Survey conducted by telephone Feb. 17-18
Potential sampling error, plus or minus 3%



Freed by a jury, the former defendant returns home, followed by his son John Jr.

The "Dapper Don" Beats a Rap

Crime Boss John Gotti is acquitted of racketeering charges

John Gotti likes to dress and drive for success, preferring \$1,800 double-breasted suits and a black Mercedes 450 SL, all in keeping with his reputation as the "Dapper Don" of the underworld. Last week he had reason to top the spiffy threads with a bright, back-in-business smile. The reputed boss of America's largest Mafia family was acquitted by a New York jury of federal racketeering charges brought against him nearly two years ago by federal prosecutors. As the jury foreman called out not-guilty findings for Gotti and six co-defendants, including Gotti's brother Gene, the triumphant Gotti jumped up, pointed to the prosecution table and said, "Shame on them! I'd like to see a verdict on them." Added his lawyer Bruce Cutler: "This is a powerful verdict."

For the Government, it was a disappointing setback. Gotti's acquittal marked federal prosecutors' first defeat in a vigorous war against the Mob that has put many organized-crime kingpins behind bars for long prison terms. Two weeks ago, in the "pizza connection" case, 17 mobsters were convicted of selling tons of heroin and cocaine through pizza parlors in the Northeast and Midwest. In December, eight of New York's powerful crime bosses were convicted of running a vast network of criminal activities. Last October, Philip Rastelli, head of the Bonanno family, and eight co-defendants were found guilty of racketeering. Last year mob leaders from Chicago, Cleveland, Milwaukee and Kansas City were jailed for skimming profits from Las Vegas casinos.

Gotti, 46, was accused of seven racketeering acts, among them the 1973 barroom murder of James McBratney, who, prosecutors said, was suspected of killing a nephew of the late Carlo Gambino, then head of the Gambino crime family. Gotti

helped do away with McBratney, prosecutors claimed, to gain favor within the family.

According to federal officials, Gotti, a mere captain in the Gambino family when the charges were filed, got the top job after Gambino Boss Paul Castellano was gunned down in a midtown Manhattan street in December 1985. Authorities believe that Gotti organized the hit, but he has not been charged.

Why did Gotti go free when other accused top mobsters took a fall? After hearing evidence for five months and deliberating for seven days, the jury asked to review a defense exhibit showing the criminal records of seven Government witnesses. Collectively, they had been convicted of nearly 70 crimes, including murder and drug trafficking. Apparently, the jury concluded that their testimony against Gotti was not believable. The jurors were tired, said Defense Attorney Cutler, of the prosecution's "regurgitating things said by paid witnesses who've lied in the past, witnesses who've sold drugs, witnesses who have killed people. They've had it."

Gotti, who had been imprisoned without bail since May, returned to his home in Howard Beach, Queens, to savor his freedom. Assistant U.S. Attorney Diane Giacalone, the prosecutor, refused to speculate on why the jury did not believe her case. Said she: "We presented the evidence as best we could. That was our job. The jury's job was to decide whether the defendants were guilty. They did their job, and that is the end of that."

Perhaps not. Andrew Maloney, U.S. Attorney for the eastern district of New York, says he will continue to go after people in organized crime—and some of them may be the defendants who were acquitted last week.

By John S. DeMott.
Reported by Raji Samghabadi/New York

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Survivor On the Track

Dole plugs conservatism with compassion



One of the few Republican beneficiaries of the Irancon affair has been Kansas Senator Robert Dole, thrust into the role of hot candidate even as his fledgling campaign apparatus goes through birth pangs. This is the third in a series of profiles of the major 1988 contenders.

For Bob Dole, the most ordinary tasks pose extraordinary challenges. Buttoning his shirt, for example. Because there is no feeling in the tip of his left thumb and forefinger, he aligns the buttons by sight and gingerly guides them through the holes; each one can take ten minutes. In public appearances, he clasps a pen in his clawlike right hand to ward off aggressive handshakers who have not noticed his withered arm as they crowd around him, thrusting scraps of paper and clamoring for autographs. He responds patiently—"I'm not a very good writer"—and laboriously signs with his left hand, which he learned to write with after coming home to Russell, Kans., a horribly wounded veteran of the war against Nazi Germany. It took three years, seven operations and months in a plaster cast that encased him from neck to waist for him to recover. Compared with that ordeal, says Dole's younger brother Kenny, "running for President will be a piece of cake for Bob."

At 63, Robert Joseph Dole, the small-town Kansan who rose to become Republican leader in the U.S. Senate, is a remarkable survivor not only of war but of politics. Despite losses in two prior bids for national office, he has steadily been rising in the polis for the Republican presidential nomination. Yet he still faces formidable obstacles in the 1988 presidential campaign. He has been known as an acerbic Washington insider, a pragmatic, conservative man for all sessions during his 18 years in the Senate. Can such a candidate project a vision of the country's future that will satisfy both the distrustful right-wing ideologues he needs to win the Republican nomination and the more moderate voters whose support could sweep him into the White House?

So far, there has been a curious hesitancy about Dole's campaign, raising questions about his managerial skills and decisiveness. A bumbling organizational effort in the 1980 race doomed his run for the nomination before it got off the ground, and this time too he has been slow to establish the kind of political operation that could consolidate his current popularity. He has yet to unveil a timetable for resigning as Senate leader to commit himself full time to the trail or decide what role John Sears, a respected Republican political pro detested by the extreme right, will

play in his campaign. In January, after Dole had been quoted as saying he had discussed with his wife Elizabeth the possibility that she would quit her job and join his campaign, she confronted him: "How can you say that?" she asked. "When you haven't even decided if you are going to run?" She happens to be Ronald Reagan's Secretary of Transportation, and some political observers suspect that if either member of this power couple becomes President, it may be she.

In part, Dole's hesitation stems from his Midwestern reserve. With his vibrant voice, handsome face and extraordinary energy, he can dominate a large room with an aura of apparent self-confidence, but in one-on-one conversations he is surprisingly guarded. He often uses one-liners to deflect questions he does not want to answer. When he forgoes the quips, his replies are carefully phrased to neutralize any hint of boastfulness. He seldom initiates talk about the broken neck and shattered shoulder he suffered in combat with the Germans in Italy's Po Valley in 1945. But if pressed, he can movingly recollect how his neighbors took up collections that helped pay for his operations. Privately, Dole comes across as somewhat ambivalent about running for President, as though unalloyed ambition were a touch unseemly. As he puts it, "I have drive, but I'm not driven. Destiny's a pretty lofty word for me. I don't know whether I'm destined to do anything. Maybe right now is as far as I'm going to go."

To live his campaign speeches, Dole rattles off jokes, rapid-fire, like a string of firecrackers. But while he maintains that "I use humor to wake people up," he has often used it to cut them up. In 1974 he barely won re-election to the Senate over Dr. William Roy, a Topeka obstetrician, in one of the nastiest campaigns in Kansas history. Says Roy, who shares Dole's flair for vindictive rhetoric: "He was a slasher and a cutter. You almost felt he cut for the pleasure of cutting." Recalling how Dole ranted about "Democratic wars" when he was Gerald Ford's vice-presidential running mate, some analysts still argue that his hot and highly partisan style may have cost the G.O.P. the White House in 1976.

The criticisms clearly stung. Since 1976 Dole has worked hard to shed the hatchet-man image. "I've done a lot of soul searching," he says. "I think a lot of the criticism was unfounded. I don't dislike people. I'm a very friendly person, not mean or vicious. But you take a look at how you're perceived, and obviously you

don't want that perception." Friends agree that since his marriage to Elizabeth, he has mellowed, replacing the hatchet with a stiletto. As often as not these days, he makes himself the butt of his own jokes. Reflecting on the 1976 campaign, he quips, "My assignment was to go for the jugular, and I did—my own."

With his wit under control, Dole faces the more serious test of outlining the priorities of a Dole Administration. So far, he has provided little more than a legislative shopping list of proposals for dealing with the deficit, trade and other matters. Even supporters suggest that Dole's immersion in the details of legislation has blocked the mental leap to a broad-gauge view of national leadership required of a presidential candidate. Says his political consultant David Keene: "Legislative experience teaches you to be tactical and think on an ad hoc basis. He's got to reach inside himself and think about what he believes and what he sees for the country." Characteristically, Dole's rejoinder is a quip: "Your vision might be 20-20 today, but a few months from now, you might find that you need contacts."



At the capitol in Topeka: pragmatism rooted in Midwestern tradition

Nation

Focusing his vision will not be easy for Dole because his record is ideologically blurred. He strongly espouses a conservative agenda, ranging from unflinching backing for the *contras* to support for a constitutional amendment allowing school prayer. But he escapes easy pigeonholing by talking the language of pragmatism: common-sense efforts to deal with serious social problems and the need to show courage by looking at Social Security and other entitlement programs in reducing the deficit. Dole's conservatism is deeply rooted in the tradition of independence in the small-town Midwest: he is too flexible to ignite the anti-Establishment passions that fire up the purists on the Republican right.

This has strained his relationship with the hard-core right-wingers known as "movement conservatives." They have not forgotten that he joined with George McGovern to champion the food-stamp program and led the Senate battle to create a Martin Luther King Jr. holiday. They have never forgiven Dole, as Senate Finance chairman, for pushing through a \$98.3 billion tax increase in 1982 that was followed by a \$50 billion hike in 1984. Those efforts to reduce the federal deficits so incensed supply-side economic advocates that Georgia Congressman Newt Gingrich branded Dole "the tax collector for the welfare state." Though lately Dole has been mending fences with the movement conservatives, he often shows his annoyance. Says he: "I think

what they want is a cheerleader. It's not enough to be with them on the issues."

As the quintessential Washington insider, Dole of necessity stresses as a virtue his congressional experience (he has been on the Hill ever since he was elected to Congress in 1960, after serving as county attorney in Russell). "I think we've had Carter the outsider. Reagan the outsider," says Dole. "I think, at least I hope, that those of us who've demonstrated a little experience—that we can make things happen, that we're innovative, that we can bring people together—may have a little edge." In the wake of Irancon and the stirrings of renewed concern about social problems, he hopes that voters will find the mix that he offers—combative conservatism combined with compassion, pragmatism and experience—a formula for leadership in the post-Reagan era.

In recent speeches, Dole has been testing one theme in particular. The Republicans, he says, must "reassert that we are a sensitive, compassionate, caring party" that can address the problems of the aged, the homeless and the chronically unemployed, but less expensively and with less governmental regulation than Democrats have employed in the past. "I think you can be a conservative," he says, "and still try to address human problems." Because of his own experiences, that is a case Dole can convincingly make.

—By Jack E. White

AIDS Becomes a Political Issue

The New Right seeks to make it a litmus test for Republicans

Right-Wing Activist Phyllis Schlafly was back on the warpath. Holding an open letter to Surgeon General C. Everett Koop at a Washington press conference last Friday, Schlafly denounced him for appearing to advocate the "teaching of safe sodomy in public schools." She accused Koop, a conservative born-again Christian, of not sufficiently promoting chastity. Though the letter, signed by 54 other activists, was addressed to Koop, its message was aimed much further. According to Schlafly, "this is a political issue, and how politicians address it is very important."

The AIDS epidemic is fast moving toward the top of the New Right's agenda of pressing social issues. Fierce opposition to condom advertising and "safe sex" instruction in schools is only the first line of battle. The crusaders have also declared war on public health officials for not adopting stringent anti-AIDS measures such as mandatory testing and emergency quarantine. "AIDS is the No. 1 underground issue of our time," says Paul Weyrich, president of the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation. "We have a sick public health community that has been frankly intimidated by the homosexual lobby." Richard Viguerie, a New Right fund raiser, calls AIDS the "first politically protected disease in the history of mankind."

"Initially most traditional-value types saw AIDS as a natural cause and effect," explains Bob Grant, chairman of the lobbying organization Christian Voice. "People with unsafe and immoral behavior were reaping its results." The AIDS-related death of Terry Dolan, a founder of the National Conservative Political Action



Phyllis Schlafly in Washington

Denouncing the "teaching of safe sodomy."

Committee, made it an awkward subject among some New Right activists. But in the wake of recent studies showing that AIDS is spreading to the heterosexual community, the right stopped avert its eyes. Two other developments further energized the right: this month's Supreme Court decision granting victims of communicable diseases the same rights in the work force as the handicapped, and last month's Centers for Disease Control conference on AIDS, which advised against mandatory AIDS testing.

Republican Congressman William Dannemeyer of California has helped set the agenda by introducing five different

AIDS bills that call for, among other things, mandatory testing for homeless people seeking Government-funded medical treatment and making it a felony for people with the AIDS virus to donate blood, semen or organs knowingly. Howard Phillips of the Conservative Caucus has begun a direct-mail fund-raising drive on the issue. Other groups have begun lobbying on the Hill and in their communities. H. Edward Rowe, president of the Christian Mandate for America, has established the National AIDS Prevention Institute.

Republican Presidential Candidate Peter DuPont felt the political undercurrents of AIDS while addressing the Council for National Policy, a somewhat secretive club of New Right activists and contributors, at the Breakers resort in Palm Beach, Fla., last month. A teenager in the audience drew a standing ovation when he asked the former Delaware Governor whether he agreed that AIDS was a sign from God that homosexuality is an "abomination." When DuPont replied that AIDS was a "medical problem, not a moral problem," he was booted. Said an activist in the audience: "DuPont blew it."

So far, most civil liberties groups believe the crusade does not have the potential to radicalize government policy or public opinion. "There is increased agitation," admits Jeff Levi, executive director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, "but I don't see it getting anywhere." Many leaders of the New Right, however, are determined to make AIDS an issue that could eclipse abortion as a conservative litmus test for campaigners. "There is a current moving out there that politicians will have to respond to," says Weyrich. Warns Jeffrey Bell, an adviser to Congressman Jack Kemp: "Anyone advocating the American Civil Liberties Union line on AIDS will not be acceptable in the Republican nomination fight."

—By Alessandra Stanley

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The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

The Establishment Steps In

Richard Viguerie, the right wing's genial blowtorch, is absolutely correct when he howls that Ronald Reagan has "abandoned every last pretense" of standing up against the Washington establishment. Reagan has lost his presidency for the time being to that molting collection of political people and purposes that form the capital's core from generation to generation.

It could be the best thing that has happened to him in this season of distress. At the heart of the Establishment are good and wise men and women who so often in times of crisis place the national interest above party and ideology. If Reagan finally lends his considerable talents to their healing agenda, he could not only recover lost prestige but go on to greater achievements. If he decides to buck an aroused Establishment, he will in all likelihood be run over by events.

Reagan asked the Establishment people into his tent. He had no other choice. Because his credibility after the Iran arms revelations hung in the balance, an immediate application of respected candor was required. The Tower board was almost inevitable, three wise men of deep experience. They



Reagan last week: heeding the sound counsel of history

opened the way for White House reform. The President's trusted intimate, former Senator Paul Laxalt, now a lawyer with a stately office on Pennsylvania Avenue, proposed a solution: former Senator Howard Baker as chief of staff. Baker, with his unrivaled knowledge of power's rituals, joined Frank Carlucci, the newly installed National Security Adviser with a solid reputation of service to four Administrations. Others like them have followed, more will come. President Reagan now has a White House geared for more openness and conciliation, essential ingredients for progress in a presidency's waning years.

Even if any wild new foreign adventures were to be hatched in the Government's bureaucracies, the Washington *Post* and others in the aroused media establishment would unmask and neutralize them. On certain issues, the media can have more influence on U.S. policy than the Secretaries of State and Defense.

The courts are another powerful factor. So is the army of young barristers at work on the three Iran investigations. Many of them come from Washington's great law firms, which are peopled by those who have served the Government before. These staff members find a singular exhilaration in unraveling the Iran mess. Out of that comes a reaffirmation of the Republic's purposes and a strong defense against further cover-ups and corruption. The old ideals shine through again.

Congressional leaders of both parties, like the sagacious Georgia Senator Sam Nunn, have been invited into the White House for their counsel. Their input is now being felt on issues like the ABM treaty, SDI, trade, welfare. Changes in Reagan's approach to policy are almost inevitable, unless he wants to court more defeat, which could darken his exit a couple of years hence.

Those who tend Washington decade after decade have many faults, but there are splendid moments when the best rise to defend this ungrateful democracy. When Lyndon Johnson passed the acceptable threshold of bloodshed in Vietnam, the political establishment weighed in. Richard Nixon violated the law and the threshold of decency in Watergate, and the city exposed and expelled him. Reagan crossed a threshold of mismanagement, and is being called to account.

Dan Boorstin, the keen-minded Librarian of Congress who sits atop Capitol Hill and watches the drama below, talks about the "cleansing effect of Washington." The old city, given enough time, knocks common sense into cockeyed theories, rounds the corners of sharp practices, and finally forces almost every leader who is successful to heed the sound counsel of history.

Timing Tiff

Immunity now—or later?

Since the Iran-contra scandal was exposed last November, it has been clear that two men are crucial to unraveling the tangled scheme: former National Security Adviser Admiral John Poindexter and his deputy, Lieut. Colonel Oliver North. But the two have stubbornly refused to discuss their roles in the weapons sales to Iran and the secret funding of the Nicaraguan *contras*; invoking their Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination. Last week the arrangements for forcing the silent partners to talk led to a clash between the Senate Select Committee and Independent Counsel Lawrence Walsh.

The lawmakers and the prosecutor agree on how to extract the testimony: grant limited immunity, which would protect Poindexter and North from being prosecuted on the basis of their statements. If they then refused to talk, they could face imprisonment for contempt of Congress. But the Senate and Walsh disagree over timing: the Senators want to expedite their Irancon hearings. Walsh has asked that immunity be delayed for at least 90 days to give him time to build a case to indict Poindexter and North.

Walsh last week persuaded the House Irancon committee to go along with his request for delay. He had a harder time convincing the Senators. "The independent counsel wishes the committees didn't exist," says a source close to the Senate panel. "We wish he didn't exist. The Congress wants to let in the sunlight. The independent counsel has to work in grand jury secrecy."

The catch in immunity grants is that the prosecutor must prove he did not gain any evidence against the witnesses through their testimony. Walsh's staff has been stamping the date on any evidence it collects: before Poindexter and North testify. Walsh will send his material to a district court to prove that his case was not influenced by their statements.

The Senators and Walsh seem to be moving toward a compromise. The panel planned to grant immunity this week but to take at least 30 days before quizzing the witnesses. Since U.S. law permits Walsh to postpone a congressional immunity grant for 30 days, he could end up getting a 60-day delay, two-thirds of the postponement he is seeking.

Walsh scored a separate victory last week when a federal judge dismissed lawsuits filed by North charging that the independent counsel's position was unconstitutional. North contended that since independent counsels are appointed by a three-judge panel rather than by the Executive Branch, the office violates the constitutional separation of powers. Judge Barrington Parker ruled that North's challenge was premature and probably without merit. ■

"They Cannot Fend for Themselves"

That is why Marian Edelman became a top lobbyist for children

The path that led Marian Wright Edelman to become one of Washington's most unusual lobbyists began on April 5, 1968, the day after Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated. Then a civil rights lawyer practicing in Jackson, Miss., Edelman had sought out a group of black teenagers, hoping to dissuade them from violence. But when she tried to warn them that looting and rioting in the streets "may ruin your future," one boy angrily shot back: "Lady, why should I listen to you? Lady, I ain't got no future."

Haunted by the boy's hopelessness, Edelman resolved to dedicate herself to providing a better future for America's children. After nearly 20 years of work as a lobbyist, organizer and fund raiser, Edelman, 47, has emerged as a leading advocate for young people, the nation's poorest and most vulnerable group. As founder and president of the Children's Defense Fund, Edelman has ensured that even though the young cannot vote or make campaign contributions, they are not ignored in Washington. In her just published book, *Families in Peril* (Harvard University Press: \$15.00), she contends, "As adults we are responsible for meeting the needs of children. It is our moral obligation. We brought about their births and their lives, and they cannot fend for themselves."

Edelman's effectiveness depends as much on her adroit use of statistics as on moral suasion. She never tires of pointing out that more than 12 million American youngsters—25% of the national total—live below the federally defined poverty level. Or that while poverty has declined among other age groups, it has risen steadily among children. Or that the 10.8 infant deaths among every 1,000 live births in 1984 gave the U.S. one of the highest infant mortality rates among 20 leading industrialized nations. (And from 1983 to 1984, the C.D.F. reported last month, infant mortality rates increased in six of the country's largest cities, including Washington.) What these numbers indicate, she says, is "a national catastrophe in the making."

Edelman is particularly concerned about teenage pregnancy, which she sees as both a cause and a consequence of poverty. The C.D.F. reports that one in every five poor teenagers is a parent. Every year, almost half a million teenage girls give birth: about 50% receive no prenatal

care in the first three months of pregnancy. Nearly one of every five babies born to adolescent mothers suffers from low birth weight. Amid growing concern about teen pregnancy, Edelman last week presided over the C.D.F.'s third annual Pregnancy Prevention Conference, which drew more than 2,000 religious leaders, social and health workers and community organizers to Washington.

The youngest daughter of a Baptist minister, Edelman inherited her sense of mission at an early age. "Helping other people, I did it as a kid like other kids go to the movies," she says. "It is what I was raised to be." When segregation laws prevented blacks in her hometown of Bennettsville, S.C., from entering public parks, her father opened a park behind



At her Washington office: the 1960s-style activist as a 1980s-style advocate
To Edward Kennedy, she is the "101st Senator on children's issues."

his church. "That taught me, if you don't like the way the world is, you change it. You have an obligation to change it. You just do it, one step at a time."

That approach has sustained a lifelong struggle for social change. In her senior year at all-black Spelman College in Atlanta, Edelman became active in the 1960s civil rights movement. While volunteering in the local office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, she became aware that there were no attorneys to represent poor blacks. She went off to Yale Law School, then became the first black woman admitted to the Mississippi bar. As a staff attorney for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, she met her husband Peter, a fellow attorney and an adviser to Senator Robert Kennedy. Convinced she could achieve more as an advocate than as a litigator for the poor, Edelman moved to Washington in 1968 and five years later

founded the C.D.F. Says Edelman: "I still contend our problem is not one of law but of making laws work, getting them funded, riding the bureaucrats and enabling people to take advantage of what Congress intended."

If many Washington lobbyists promote their cause with cash, Edelman's currency is facts, mountains of data that tell the story of what is happening to children. The C.D.F. annually turns out more than 2,000 pages of reports, which she uses to put pressure on Congress—apparently with great success. Senator Edward Kennedy described Edelman as the "101st Senator on children's issues." Said Kennedy: "She has real power in Congress and uses it brilliantly."

Even while the Reagan Administration was trimming social spending, Edelman managed to score some victories. Last year nine federal programs known as the "children's initiative" received a \$500 million increase in its \$36 billion budget for families and children's health care, nutrition and early education. Meanwhile, under prodding from Edelman, Medicaid coverage for expectant mothers and their children was boosted in 1984, and last year Congress gave states the option of expanding Medicaid eligibility.

Edelman is not without her detractors, who accuse her of trying to solve social problems merely by throwing money at them. She responds—how else?—with statistics. According to the C.D.F., for every dollar spent on the nutrition programs for women, infants and children, three are saved by avoiding more expensive hospital care for underweight and malnourished children. Says

Edelman: "People ought to be able to distinguish between throwing money at problems and investing in success."

Nor does Edelman downplay the cost of that investment. As both the Reagan Administration and Congress have turned their attention toward welfare reform, Edelman has been warning against the delusion that the cycle of poverty and pregnancy can be broken quickly or cheaply. The intensive education and employment training that teens need both before and after childbearing "could incur equal or greater public costs than welfare," the C.D.F. reports. With teen pregnancy and poverty, says Edelman, "we are trying to change cultural signals, to change the way people think—and that doesn't happen overnight." That prospect will no doubt discourage many, but for Marian Wright Edelman it is another step on a long march.

—By Nancy Traver.
Reported by Melissa Ludke/Washington

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American Notes



Babbitt: I do, I do, I do

POLITICS

Enter Babbitt, Repeatedly

Technically, the announcement was unnecessary; in legal terms, Bruce Babbitt has been a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination since he filed papers with the Federal Election Commission on Jan. 7. Politically, it was essential: what the former Arizona Governor needs most is publicity. So last week Babbitt, 48, declared his candidacy—three times—with speeches in (where else?) New Hampshire and Iowa and a press conference in Washington.

Babbitt's best chance to win some attention is with five ideas. His theme is "dare to be different," and he advocates, among other things, taxing the Social Security benefits of couples with incomes above \$32,000 a year. Among Babbitt's problems: he never seems to speak a sentence when he can get by with a paragraph. Though he has a proficient campaign organization, he is as dark as dark horses come.

DEMOCRATS

Cut Out the Rough Stuff

Ronald Reagan had an Eleventh Commandment for primary campaigns: Thou shalt not speak ill of another Repub-



Wagon train in the Big Open: let the buffalo roam



Dallas in 1971 and last week

lian. Democratic National Chairman Paul Kirk is trying to go Reagan one better. Bemoaning the "self-inflicted wounds" of the party's 1980 and '84 campaigns, Kirk last week appointed a task force of six Democratic seniors to monitor what the '88 hopefuls say about one another. Every month Kirk will meet with representatives of each candidate and try to persuade them to cut out the rough stuff. The party elders, said Kirk, will "publicly bring political pressure to bear" on any candidate who refuses to be civil.

Most potential candidates have pledged support. But Gary Hart and Richard Gephardt did so only after trading some hard shots in Iowa. Gephardt went so far as to imply that Hart has no backbone.

MONTANA

Back to Lewis And Clark?

A home where the buffalo roam would be a darn sight more profitable than a busted ranch. Or so thinks Robert Scott, who has proposed turning the 15,000-sq.-mi. Big Open area of east-central Montana into a game park the size of Maryland with half of New Jersey thrown in.

Like Scott, who lost his ranch in the Big Open, many of the 3,000 human inhabitants of the flat, arid area are going broke trying to raise wheat or

cattle. If their lands were combined into a cooperative and replanted with native grasses, says Scott, the area could support wild animals on a scale unseen since Lewis and Clark came through in 1805. Tourists would flock in to watch the deer and the antelope play, hunters to stalk elk and perhaps 75,000 bison. Scott presented his plan in Missoula last month to the nonprofit Institute of the Rockies and heard many a discouraging word. The institute is raising funds for a study.

THE WEST

Bringing In A Badman

Crafty, elusive, quick enough on the draw to gun down two Idaho game wardens who tried to arrest him for poaching in 1981, Claude Dallas Jr. was a surprisingly easy catch last week. Unarmed and toting a bag of groceries, Dallas, 37, was surrounded by FBI agents outside a convenience store in Riverside, Calif., ending a manhunt that began when he escaped from an Idaho prison last Easter.

The captive barely resembled the mountain man who had become something of a legend. His shaggy beard had been replaced by a trim mustache, and agents speculated that he had undergone facial surgery. Authorities found him by shadowing Danny Martinez, a cowhand pal. "We set up

a net around Mr. Martinez, and Dallas walked into it," said an FBI agent. In Idaho, Dallas faces an additional five years for prison escape, tacked onto his 30-year sentence for manslaughter.

DRUGS

A \$1.5 Billion Inside Job

The operation was a consummate inside job. Some baggage handlers at New York City's John F. Kennedy Airport plucked suitcases loaded with cocaine off incoming planes from Rio de Janeiro and switched them onto conveyor belts headed for domestic flights before the luggage ever got to Customs inspectors. Others simply picked up the bags and carried them out through emergency exits. Accomplices erased from airline computer systems all records of the flights made by the couriers who carried the drugs from Brazil. Since 1981, the ring may have smuggled \$1.5 billion worth of cocaine through J.F.K. Last Tuesday narcotics agents arrested 40 people, including 23 present or former Pan Am employees, eight from Eastern and two from Delta. But, says New York City Special Prosecutor Sterling Johnson, "I have no doubt that this is going on in other airports and other airlines. Drug smugglers are limited only by their imaginations."

World

ISRAEL

Uproar over a Spy

The Pollard case sparks new U.S.-Israeli tensions

For Israelis and Americans alike, the heated clash of interests and emotions in the aftermath of the Pollard spy case threatened last week to spin out of control. Despite mounting evidence of U.S. displeasure over the affair, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir stubbornly resisted backing a proposed Israeli investigation into the scandal as long as he could before finally yielding to the growing pressure for a full-scale probe. Shamir's position was that the Pollard case was over and Israel had apologized sufficiently to the U.S., and he seemed bent on dismissing the matter as a "rogue" operation that had been approved by neither Israel's leaders nor its principal intelligence organizations.

U.S. officials, for their part, simmered over what they considered to be Israeli high-handedness. They were especially annoyed that two Israeli principals in the spy operation, instead of being punished

for their roles in the affair, had been given promotions that appeared to reward their efforts. What is at stake now is not the Administration's pending \$3 billion Israeli aid package for next year, which Congress will undoubtedly approve, but a sense that misadventures like the Pollard case could have a long-term corrosive effect on American confidence and trust in Israel.

Perhaps most upset of all, American Jewish leaders displayed unusual impatience and irritation with the Jerusalem government. They were disturbed by its refusal to take responsibility for the actions of Jonathan Jay Pollard, who two weeks ago was sentenced by a U.S. district court in Washington to life imprisonment on charges of spying in Israel's behalf against the U.S. This week a delegation of some 65 American Jewish leaders will arrive in Jerusalem with a blunt message for Prime Minister Shamir and other Is-

raeli leaders: that the Pollard affair threatens to do long-term damage to Israel's vital relationship with the U.S. Nathan Perlmutter, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, provided a fair sample of what the Israelis can expect to hear. "What began in stupidity quickly sank into irresponsibility," he told the *Washington Post* last week. "If this was a rogue operation, it's a fair question for people to ask why Israel has proceeded to promote the rogues."

In Israel, signs of distress over the case were everywhere. Some Israelis felt sorry for Pollard and his wife Anne Henderson-Pollard, who had received a five-year prison sentence. Fearful that their country was deserting devoted friends, a newly formed group called Citizens for Pollard collected thousands of dollars to help defray the Pollards' legal costs. Said one of the group's organizers, Yehoshua Gilboa: "We were brought up never to



Stubborn to the end: Prime Minister Shamir



Right-wing, pro-Sella demonstrators protest mounting U.S. pressure

leave either wounded or dead behind on the battlefield." But who was the enemy?

A few Israelis tried to justify their government's actions throughout the affair. Speaking on Israeli radio, the right-wing Minister of Industry and Trade, Ariel Sharon, declared, "Israel does not receive from the U.S. all the information it needs; certainly not. If we compare what we gave over the years with what we got, we without doubt gave much more in much more important fields than we received." Said Prime Minister Shamir of the convicted spy: "The State of Israel didn't hire him and didn't assign him espionage missions." As for Pollard, Shamir observed, his plight was a "human problem, maybe a moral problem," but it was "not a problem that the State of Israel must concern itself with."

Early in the week, some Cabinet ministers and Knesset members called on the government to establish a commission of inquiry similar to the one headed by Israel's late Chief Justice, Yitzhak Kahan, in 1982-83 to investigate the massacre of Arabs in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Beirut. Shamir dismissed their demands as "hysterical and unjustified." When former Foreign Minister Abba Eban pressed doggedly for such an investigation, Shamir urged caution: "Certain people generate echoes when they speak," Shamir told Eban, "and hence they should think twice before making a declaration." Later, when Eban announced that the Knesset's seven-member intelligence subcommittee would proceed with an inquiry of its own, Shamir for a time considered forbidding government offi-

cials to testify before it. The Cabinet subsequently promised to cooperate.

The Prime Minister's opposition to a full-scale probe was supported initially by the two ranking Labor Party members in the ruling coalition, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Though no love is lost between the three men, Shamir refrained from criticizing officials of the Labor Party for their roles in Iranscam; and Peres and Rabin, both former Prime Ministers, were backing Shamir's position that the less said about Pollard, the better it would be for Israel. That cozy arrangement made possible by the 30-month-old coalition between Likud and Labor, made some Israelis uncomfortable, and a few wags began to refer to the trio of Prime Ministers as the "Gang of Three."

By midweek, however, as pressure from overseas intensified, the Jerusalem government realized it would have to act. On Wednesday, after meeting for almost eight hours, the ten-member "inner Cabinet" concluded that an independent investigatory committee would have to be appointed, if only to appease the U.S. Accordingly, Shamir at first turned to Moshe Landau, a former Supreme Court justice, to head a two-member panel to look into the Pollard case. Landau promptly declined the invitation, explaining that the committee as constituted would not have the legal authority to do its job properly.

The Prime Minister then appointed Yehoshua Rotenstreich, a prominent Tel Aviv attorney and former head of the Is-

rael Bar Association, to conduct the investigation along with Zvi Tsur, a former armed forces Chief of Staff. Like the Knesset subcommittee, which began its own inquiry last week, the two-member committee will not have the right to compel witnesses to appear, and its conclusions will not be binding on the government.

Despite the appointment of the committee of inquiry, U.S. officials were still pained and perplexed by Israeli behavior in the Pollard affair. Testifying before a congressional committee last week, Secretary of State George Shultz said he was "deeply distressed" by the case, adding that he was disturbed about spying on the U.S. by any friendly country, "and perhaps especially when it's Israel." Pentagon officials said an angry Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger had told intimates that in his view Pollard's crime was so heinous that "he should have been hanged."

The Reagan Administration has only hinted at the full significance of the 360 cu. ft. of pilfered material that Pollard stole over an 18-month period from the Naval Investigative Service in Suitland, Md., where he worked. But there was no doubt that the theft of the papers, some of which dealt with extremely sensitive matters, had severely compromised U.S. national security. After his sentencing by a federal court in Washington, Pollard was taken to the federal prison in Petersburg, Va., but was quickly moved to another penitentiary in Springfield, Mo., after death threats against him were made by some Petersburg inmates.

Though Israel promised more than a year ago to cooperate with American investigators, it has refused to surrender the overwhelming bulk of the documents that were taken. There is, of course, no way that stolen intelligence material can ever be "recovered," but U.S. agencies still want it all back in order to assess the damage. Furthermore, though Israel promised that members of the "rogue" spy team would be held accountable for their actions, some of the team's members, far from facing punishment, seem to have been rewarded. Rafi Eitan, a counterintelligence expert who ran the Pollard spy ring, was appointed chairman of the board of Israel Chemicals, the country's largest government-owned corporation, thanks to the support of Industry and Trade Minister Sharon. Colonel Aviam Sella, an Israeli war hero who, while attending a graduate course at New York University in 1984, was Pollard's first "handler," was assigned last month to the command of one of Israel's most important military facilities, the Tel Nof air base. At week's end Foreign Minister Peres conceded that the government had probably erred, but only by promoting the two men before Pollard was convicted. Said Peres: "I simply think we made a mistake."

Two weeks ago a federal grand jury in Washington indicted Sella on espionage charges. The officer cannot be extradited to the U.S. to stand trial, but neither will



Two of the "Gang of Three" confer: Foreign Minister Peres and Defense Minister Rabin

World

he as a fugitive from American justice, be allowed to re-enter the U.S. As many as three more indictments of Israelis involved in the Pollard spy case are expected soon. The Pentagon has ordered U.S. officers not to deal directly with Sella or to set foot on the Tel Nof air base as long as Sella is its commander.

American Jewish leaders felt doubly betrayed, because Israel spied so aggressively—and successfully—against the U.S. and because it exploited a dedicated, if flawed, American Zionist to do its dirty work. "What chutzpah," wrote New York Times Columnist William Safire, "to expect the U.S. ... to forgive and forget the corrupting of American citizens that led to a raid on our National Security Agency by a foreign power." Continued Safire: "American supporters of Israel cannot support wrongdoing here or there. In matters of religion and culture, many of those supporters are American Jews, but in matters affecting national interest and ultimate loyalty, the stonewalling leaders of Israel will learn to think of us as Jewish Americans."

Hyman Bookbinder, a longtime leader of the American Jewish Committee, declared, "Many of us feel that what Pollard did was a mistake, wrong, a crime, a sin ... and what the Israeli officials did was wrong to initiate and even dumber to continue." Even normally pro-Israel U.S. legislators were embarrassed by Pollard's protestations that he had a "moral obligation" to spy for Israel. Such statements, said Florida Democratic Congressman Lawrence Smith, "are deeply distressing to American Jews, particularly those in the Government or close to it." On the other hand, Smith added, "much of the furor comes from circles that would be just as happy if there were not a U.S. relationship with Israel."

The new Israeli commission's first task will be to investigate the Pollard operation thoroughly. Rotenstreich and Tsur, the probbers appointed by the Prime Minister, will presumably focus on the state of Israel's intelligence services, plagued as they have

been by an unprecedented series of blunders (see box). Some Israelis believe the central problem is that almost four decades after Israel's independence, the country's vaunted security agencies have lost sight of their country's political objectives, of which the most important at the moment is continued close association with the U.S.

Having appointed the investigatory committee under pressure, Shamir insisted at week's end that the government was "committing itself to nothing." But he quickly noted, "There is no doubt that the recommendations of a committee of such importance will be especially serious." The Prime Minister is certain to hear strong support for that sentiment this week from the visiting American Jewish leaders. And Attorney Rotenstreich has already put Shamir on notice: he vowed to the Jerusalem Post last week that he would resign if the panel did not receive the full cooperation of the government.

—By William E. Smith.
Reported by Robert Slatzer/Jerusalem and Bruce van Voorst/Washington

Decline of the Superspies

In the shadowy world of cloak-and-dagger spy operations, tiny Israel for years ranked as a world-class player. Agents of Mossad, the country's equivalent of the CIA, electrified the world in 1960 by capturing Nazi War Criminal Adolf Eichmann and spirited him out of Argentina under the noses of authorities. The intelligence network cast by Mossad and Shin Bet, Israel's FBI, was so exhaustive in the Middle East that Washington often relied on it for information and analysis. Even when the objectives of Israel's spooks were debatable, their methods virtually defined professionalism and superscrecy.

Recently, however, Israel's vaunted state-security apparatus seems to have gone amuck. Shin Bet has been under a cloud for some time, but especially since last summer, when its director and three aides were forced to resign amid allegations of complicity in the murders of two captured Arab bus hijackers. In October a technician at Israel's top-secret nuclear complex at Dimona, Mordechai Vanunu, revealed the purported details of the country's nuclear weapons program, never officially acknowledged, in London's *Sunday Times*. He was later reportedly lured to Rome by a female Mossad agent and kidnapped. The caper put a strain on Israel's relations with Britain and Italy.

Then came Iran's cam and the revelation that two Israeli businessmen, joined by an Israeli antiterrorist adviser attached to the Prime Minister's office, may have instigated—and certainly cooperated in—the sale of U.S. weapons to the militant Islamic regime in Tehran. The renewed furor over the Pollard affair thus not only dragged Israel's most shocking security misfire back into the spotlight but dredged up the whole sorry security mess. The Pollard case, says founding Mossad Chief Isser Harel, ranks as "the worst-bungled affair in Israel's history."

What went wrong? For one thing, Israel began conducting some of its intelligence operations outside established channels and out of sight of civilian political scrutiny. Pollard, for example, was "run," at least ostensibly, by a little-known scientific liaison office, called Lakam, in the Defense Ministry. In an interview with the Jerusalem Post, Harel called the unit, since disbanded, a "bastard in the intelligence community." Harel also contended that in the past, Mossad avoided using Jews of other nationalities as spies, for fear of compromising their communities abroad. "Should we create a situation in which people in the U.S. consider Jews a security risk?" he asks.

Israeli leaders have shown a singular lack of enthusiasm for punishing those responsible for the security scandals. The fired Shin Bet officials were given pardons after acknowledging the allegations against them. Some critics believe the reluctance to demand accountability is part of a continuing cover-up conducted by top political leaders. As in Iran's cam, the government got into trouble because it failed to establish firm oversight responsibilities. Says Communications Minister Amnon Rubinstein, a former law professor: "The problem is that the politicians do not exercise the sort of vigilance that we expect of them. What we see is a diminishing of the control of elected bodies over professional bodies."

The government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir plans to take steps toward tightening its control over Israel's intelligence agencies. In the past, the government relied heavily on the "X-Committee," a highly secretive Cabinet group that sometimes reviewed sensitive covert operations. The group fell into disuse in the mid-'70s because Israeli leaders thought there was no longer a need to maintain such broad supervision over covert intelligence. Its revival could prove a useful step toward reform, provided the group exercises the political judgment that lately appears to have been lacking in Israeli security matters.



Founding Mossad Chief Harel

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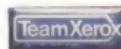


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Let Us Now Await the Hidden One

The ruling party prepares to pick a presidential candidate

It is the time-honored season of the *tapado*, the hidden one, when Mexico's ruling party mysteriously selects a candidate for the next presidential election. There will be no political scrapping, no embarrassing public exchanges. Instead, as tradition dictates, "precandidates" have quietly come to the fore. When the moment is right, probably within the next six months, President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado will anoint one of the hopefuls—the *tapado*—to be the candidate of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party. That man almost certainly will be the next President. Since the party's founding in 1929, no PRI candidate has lost a presidential, senatorial or gubernatorial race.

Credit that skein of successes to broad-based support, ballot-box chicanery or a mix of both. The PRI's stranglehold on the political process has already ensured that the September 1988 presidential election will be a triumph for the party. Even so, cracks are visible in the organization's monolithic foundation. Mexico's economy has been devastated by plunging oil prices, a crushing \$10 billion foreign debt and a sharply devalued peso. The crisis has forced the ruling party to impose tough austerity measures that have strained party loyalty. Suddenly the political vogue in PRI circles is to speak of "democratization" and "liberalization," code words that reflect popular pressure for a more open electoral process.

Some of the loudest challenges are coming from Mexico's eight opposition parties. The largest by far is the National Action Party, a conservative organization with strength in the northern states of Sonora and Chihuahua and a growing constituency among the middle class. Traditionally, the PNA has had two weaknesses: a failure to build grass-roots support and a tendency to recede into the shadows except at election time. The PNA's newly elected leader, Luis Alvarez, 67, is determined, however, to make his party a truly national one.

Alvarez won attention last July when he protested controversial ruling-party victories in Chihuahua elections by staging a 40-day hunger strike and organizing sit-ins on highways and bridges that tied up traffic across the Rio Grande. Alvarez acknowledges that under the current sys-

tem no PNA candidate can seriously hope to be President, but dim prospects do not soften his rhetoric. "How could we possibly do worse?" he asks. "This government is inefficient, corrupt and has brought the country to disaster."

The PRI also faces challenges from within its own ranks. A fledgling move-

dicts, "and the movement will be over."

Yet at a party conference earlier this month, the PRI leadership did its best to snuff out the troublemakers. In an unusual attempt to demonstrate party unity, De la Madrid was joined on the dais by two former Presidents, Luis Echeverria and Jose Lopez Portillo, both of whom have been widely discredited. Warned PRI President Jorge de la Vega: "Those who do not want to respect the will of the immense majority of party members should renounce our party and seek affiliation with other political organizations." In response, the Mexico City daily *Jornada* editorialized last week: "The leaders of the party pretend that they have ended a debate that in reality is just beginning."

Whoever succeeds De la Madrid will have to grapple with ever louder calls for the PRI to loosen its iron grip. Each of the three men now being touted for the presidency has had opportunities to observe other political models while studying at American or European universities. Seemingly first among equals is Alfredo del Mazo Gonzalez, 43, De la Madrid's Minister of Energy. Del Mazo has held bank posts and served as governor of the state of Mexico before assuming his current portfolio, which has demanded careful management of Mexico's precious oil reserves while the sag in prices continues. Not long ago, De la Madrid reportedly called Del Mazo the "younger brother I never had."

The candidate perceived as least likely to brook internal dissent is Manuel Bartlett Diaz. After successfully coordinating De la Madrid's presidential campaign, he was designated Secretary of the Interior. In that capacity, Bartlett, 51, had responsibility for overseeing the elections in Chihuahua, which many Mexicans believe were fraudulent. The third hopeful, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, Minister of Planning and Budget, is credited with great intelligence and thought to be the most likely of the contenders to favor party reform. But Salinas has some deficits. He is young, only 39. And he has a reputation for dishing out criticism but not being able to take it.

It is an unwritten party rule that a presidential aspirant must not show his ambition. Hence, in the coming weeks, the three favored sons can be expected to continue a game of demurral and humility. But when the die is cast, the Mexican public will be looking for some sign that a democratic opening is on the agenda for Mexico's future leader. —By Jill Smolowe

Reported by John Moody/Mexico City



■ **Del Mazo:** first among equals, once dubbed "younger brother" by De la Madrid

■ **Bartlett:** a stalwart loyalist and the least likely to brook internal dissent

■ **Salinas:** young and smart, but thin-skinned, with a tilt toward political reform



ment known as the Democratic Current has emerged in recent months, demanding "democratic renovation" of the party's internal processes. Specifically, the group of about 25 core members is calling for open competition in the selection of presidential candidates. PRI leaders say that the Democratic Current poses little threat to the 12 million-member party. "It is a flashy thing that attracts the attention of too many journalists," says a Mexican legislative leader. "It belongs to a tradition of internal debate within the PRI." A prominent political analyst is even more dismissive. "Just make one of them an ambassador somewhere nice," he pre-

A Whiff of Blood In the Water

Furor over a tax plan

Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, an adroit political tactician, led his ruling Liberal Democratic Party to a sweeping victory last summer in both houses of the Diet, the Japanese parliament. For his historic win, he was rewarded with an unusual one-year extension in office, becoming the longest-serving Japanese Prime Minister in 15 years.

But Nakasone's success has started to turn sour. Last week the L.D.P. suffered an embarrassing 64% to 30% defeat at the hands of the opposition Socialist Party in a special election to fill a Diet seat in a district long regarded as a ruling-party stronghold. A poll released last week by the daily *Asahi Shimbun* reported that support for Nakasone has dropped over the past three months from 39% to 25%. And in cities around the country, leftist unions have joined hands with conservative shopkeepers to braid hangmen's nooses that are used on effigies of the Prime Minister in protest demonstrations.

The chief reason for Nakasone's sagging fortunes is his attempt to include an unpopular 5% sales levy in a comprehensive tax-reform proposal. Although the measure for many consumers would be offset by lower income tax rates, it has riled even some members of Nakasone's party. Boasts Socialist Leader Takako Doi: "We are seeing



The crudest blow: A protest marcher in Tokyo uses a sign to poke Nakasone's effigy

an outpouring among conservatives angry with the sales tax because it violates Nakasone's election pledge not to impose new taxes." Nakasone retorts, somewhat lamely, that the long list of goods and firms exempt from the measure qualifies it as merely a "medium-sized" new tax, not the "large-scale" levy that he had promised to avoid. The opposition has vowed to transform a set of local elections, to be held in April, into an informal national referendum on the sales tax—and Nakasone's leadership.

In the meantime, the uproar over the tax proposal has paralyzed the Diet. Last week, nearly two months behind schedule, the Diet's Budget Committee finally opened debate on the budget for the new fiscal year that begins April 1. But legislators will probably be unable

to reach agreement before they recess to campaign in the local elections. Meanwhile, the Diet will be required to pass a provisional budget to pay the government's bills.

Nakasone is not required to leave office until October. Not long ago he was rumored to be hoping for yet another extension. Now leading L.D.P. contenders for his job evidently smell blood. Last week former Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe, one of three likely successors to Nakasone, abruptly canceled a visit to the U.S. planned for April. Abe explained that he was needed to campaign for the L.D.P. in the local elections. He did not have to add that, for Nakasone, April could well be the crudest month—and not a good time for ambitious politicians to be out of town.

—By Barry Millenbrand/Tokyo

ECUADOR

Slow Killers

Twin quakes take a brutal toll

His first reports were optimistic. After two earthquakes rocked the northeastern mountains of Ecuador on March 5, the destruction in the capital of Quito, just 50 miles from the epicenter, appeared to be minor despite the tremors' high register of 7 on the Richter scale. But as reports began trickling in from Napo province, the remote Amazon jungle region that was most severely affected, the picture changed. Last week it had become clear that the quakes, which were followed by hundreds of aftershocks, constituted one of the worst natural disasters ever in the tiny South American country. As estimates of the dead rose above 1,000, a shaken President León Febres Cordero, fresh from viewing the stricken areas by helicopter, proclaimed, "We are facing the biggest, most profound and complex problem in our history."

The earthquakes set off severe flooding and mud slides in the highlands above the town of Lago Agrio, 150 miles northeast of Quito. A wall of mud and water careered eastward along the channel of the Aguarico River, sweeping away everything in its path. Entire villages, along with bridges, roads and crowded buses, were buried in thousands of tons of mud. The deluge left as many as 110,000 people homeless.

The disaster brought the country's reeling economy to its knees. Mud slides

destroyed 25 miles of Ecuador's vital oil pipeline, which begins at Lago Agrio and travels 340 miles through the Andes to the Pacific port of Balao. The rupture forced the suspension of oil exports, which in recent years have accounted for 60% of the country's export earnings. Already hard hit by falling prices of crude oil, in the wake of the earthquakes Ecuador suspended all payments on its \$8.2 billion foreign debt for the rest of this year. Febres Cordero said he took the action "without shame."

In the region around the town of Lago Agrio, teams of rescue workers ferried in emergency aid by helicopter. An urgent plea for outside help yielded planeloads of food, medicine and tents, including 50 tons of supplies from the U.S. By week's end officials were expressing serious concern about longer-term environmental damage. The mud slides and oil spills, said Health Minister Jorge Bracho, may have "modified the whole region of the Ecuadorian Amazon." —By Michael S. Serrill, *Reported by Bryan Thomas/Quito*



Swept away: A flood-shattered home in Napo province

World

SOUTH AFRICA

306 Solutions to a Baffling Problem

A new book presents an intriguing scenario for the future

Since a solution to South Africa's grinding racial conflict seems to be beyond grasp, how about 306 solutions? That is exactly the suggestion made in a best-selling book that has raised a new controversy—and won some surprising backers—throughout the country. The book, *South Africa: The Solution*, proposes a Swiss-style confederation that would include a weak central government and 306 local bodies that could choose their own economic and social systems. Black radicals could set up Marxist cantons if they wished, and Afrikaner right-wingers could have their all-white enclaves. Ev-

least possible government and the freest possible enterprise. They point out, however, that their own preferences need not be accepted, since the cantonal system would allow residents of each local unit to select by vote the system they prefer. "All the existing political parties and movements would be likely to come to power somewhere," Louw says. "Then we'll be able to see what works."

At the top level of government, the authors propose a two-house parliament based on proportional representation of the political parties in the cantons. The central government's power would be

discriminate. For economic reasons, however, the authors believe very few firms would refuse to deal with or serve blacks.

Anticipating worries that the plan would result in a few rich white cantons and many poor black ones, the book observes that there would be free movement of people, goods and capital among the cantons. "What people probably think is that the whites would take over Johannesburg and the gold mines around it," says Kendall. "No, that could not happen. There are so many black workers here that Johannesburg would have a black majority," Louw adds. "It would be an unambiguous handover of the rich areas to blacks. The only places there could be all-white cantons would be in sparsely populated rural areas."

The book's proposals have received wide support among South African blacks. Winnie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned black nationalist leader, in a foreword to the Swedish edition of the book, says it offers a "broad alternative we have all been looking for." Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister of Kwa-Zulu, rarely agrees with Mandela, but he also likes the idea. Says he: "Amid a sea of anger and tension, *The Solution* may prove to be a rational, workable answer to South Africa's unique problems."

Most South African whites are less enthusiastic but are nonetheless intrigued by the proposal. Eli Louw (no kin), the Minister of Transport, has called the book "worthwhile reading for those dealing with the future of our country." Hendrik Verwoerd, son of the late Prime Minister who institutionalized the apartheid system and himself a leading right-winger, said that while he did not accept the canton system as proposed, the book "provides an important contribution in breaking away from the dangerous unitary state philosophy into a direction which will open eyes to other possibilities."

The Solution has become something of a cause célèbre. With funding from several major companies, including the giant Anglo American Corp., the authors have set up Groundswell, a political-action movement. Groundswell hopes to raise \$15 million for a two-year program of lectures, seminars, television and newspaper advertising. The book will be translated into eight African languages, and a U.S. edition will be published in May. Louw and Kendall candidly admit they do not expect the white-dominated government to embrace their proposals. Instead they put their faith in creating a grass-roots demand for change. "If we can get the crowd moving in the right direction," Louw says, "the politicians will have no choice but to get out in front of it." Even if it does not turn out precisely that way, the authors' solution and their readers' eager response to it demonstrate that not all South Africans are waiting numbly for chaos to sweep away the past and dictate the future. —By Bruce W. Melan/Johannesburg



Husband-and-Wife Authors Leon Louw and Frances Kendall

"It would be an unambiguous handover of the rich areas to blacks."

everyone else could choose various systems somewhere between the extremes.

Sales of the book, in English and Afrikaans, have topped 25,000 and kept it on the nonfiction best-seller list for a year, a huge success in a country where nonfiction books usually sell no more than 5,000 copies. Husband-and-Wife Authors Leon Louw and Frances Kendall say they decided to write the book because those who oppose the apartheid system "know what they are against but need something to be for." Says Louw: "The struggle in this country is over who should dominate whom—that is, who controls the very powerful central government. Our solution entails not having such a central government. We want to make it possible to let the tiger—the black majority—out of the cage without whites being eaten."

Louw, a lawyer who heads South Africa's Free Market Foundation, and Kendall, editor of a conservative newsletter, offer a libertarian plan that favors the

limited strictly to essential national interests, such as the conduct of defense, national finance and foreign relations. Both houses, Louw and Kendall assume, would have a black majority. So too would almost all the cantons.

The cantons, the book suggests, should be the 306 magisterial districts that already exist in South Africa. Each canton would have its own parliament and possibly its own constitution. Every level of government would be barred from passing laws that discriminate on racial grounds and would be required to apply all laws equally to all races. "In other words," write the authors, "government would be color-blind."

In a more controversial passage, *The Solution* suggests that "all citizens would have the right to integrate or segregate voluntarily at their own expense." While no laws imposing segregation would be constitutional, neither would any that forced integration. Thus private firms would be free to

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World Notes



Syria brushes off the Ayatullah



Crane hoists wreckage from the *Herald of Free Enterprise*



Defendant Kouril after sentencing

DISASTERS

Grief and a Ghost Ship

Two huge floating cranes edged next to the exposed hull of the ferry *Herald of Free Enterprise*, while salvage experts scurried along rails and divers plunged into the frigid oil-fouled waters in search of corpses. The vessel, which overturned just outside the harbor of Zeebrugge, Belgium, has become a rusting tomb for the unrecovered bodies of more than half the 134 passengers and crew who drowned in one of Britain's worst peacetime disasters in this century.

Miraculously, 409 of the 543 passengers bound for Dover from Zeebrugge were saved. As several investigations into the still mysterious causes of the disaster got under way, Britain's Prince Charles toured the scene and thanked Belgian authorities for the remarkably well-organized rescue efforts that saved so many lives. Said he: "Without that, I think it would have been a much worse tragedy."

A memorial service for the dead was held in a red brick Zeebrugge church. A few hundred yards away, in a nearby community sports hall, sorrowful relatives and friends filed past 55 bodies in an attempt to identify loved ones pulled from the ship. Most of the victims seemed to be British. At week's end 79 passengers were still missing. The sal-

vage operations will eventually refloat the once luxurious ferry that now rests less than a mile from its berth.

NIGERIA

When Passions Spill Over

For almost 15 years, Nigerian officials have avoided taking a census for fear that religious passions would be inflamed by the probable discovery that Muslims, not Christians, now make up a majority of the population. No matter. Last week violence exploded anyway after a student in the northern city of Kafanchan criticized the Koran. Ensuing clashes between Muslim and Christian students led to a week of turmoil that left 13 dead, countless injured, 489 arrested and a trail of burned property, including twelve churches and two mosques in five cities. When peace was restored, officials blamed the unrest on "misguided elements" and denied that the trouble involved religious bigotry.

LEBANON

Bed Check In Beirut

In the past five years, the American University of Beirut has seen so much trouble that the front gates to the campus

have been sandbagged, and students have taken to tucking pistols in their belts. Last week security was unexpectedly upgraded by Syrian commandos.

In a midnight raid on two men's dormitories, Syrian troops, who moved into West Beirut last month to quell fighting among Muslim factions, shook startled students awake and checked identity cards for five hours before leading away 15 suspected troublemakers in pajamas and confiscating an impressive cache of weapons.

At week's end at least one member of Iran's radical Hezbollah (Party of God) was still in custody. When it was all over, Syrian Brigadier General Ghazi Kenaan, who ordered public portraits of Ayatullah Khomeini in Beirut whitewashed, promised to protect students' freedom of political expression.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

An End to All That Jazz

The Soviet Union may have ushered in its era of openness, but Czechoslovakia's Communist authorities seem bent on proving that it is not contagious. In Prague five leaders of the independent cultural organization known as the Jazz Section were convicted last week of illegally continuing to distribute music, newsletters and art books.

To the sound of rhythmic clapping by more than 150 protesters outside the courtroom, Chief Judge Vladimir Stiborik sentenced Karel Srp, 50, the Jazz Section head, to 16 months in prison and Secretary Vladimir Kouril to ten months. The other three drew suspended sentences. Noting the relative leniency, a Western diplomat called the trial a "symptom of this regime's schizophrenic response to Gorbachev."

SOVIET UNION

Moonshine on The Volga

In the two years since Mikhail Gorbachev cracked down on alcohol consumption in the Soviet Union, many liquor outlets have closed, and legal production of vodka has been scaled back 30%. The Soviet leader claims that as a result crime is down significantly.

Meanwhile, thirst is up. Soviet officials revealed last week that 200,000 people were prosecuted in 1986 for illegally making their own booze. Soviet moonshining has traditionally been confined largely to rural folks, but last year 40% of the offenders were urban dwellers. Half were under 30, and many were housewives concocting homemade vodka, or *samogon*, to pay for household expenses. Worse, some 200 thirsty comrades have died from drinking alcohol substitutes like antifreeze.

A Daredevil Wheel Deal

Chrysler takes a chance by buying AMC

To many auto-industry watchers, the deal was a masterstroke, another example of the dazzling acumen of Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca. To others, it was an expensive maneuver laden with risks that could cost the No. 3 U.S. automaker dearly in the future. Either way, there was no denying that the flamboyant Iacocca set corporate America abuzz last week with the announcement that Chrysler had agreed to buy a controlling interest in American Motors Corp., the longtime also-ran of the U.S. auto industry, from the firm's major shareholder, France's Renault. Codenamed Project Titan at Chrysler headquarters, the deal is the most daring move that Iacocca has made as the architect of Chrysler's dramatic comeback from near bankruptcy in 1979.

Chrysler's outlay for AMC, including a proposed \$4-a-share purchase of stock from other shareholders, is expected to be at least \$1.1 billion. That could be a steep price to pay for a company that lost \$91 million last year on sales of \$3.5 billion. But Iacocca has coveted several valuable AMC assets. Among them: AMC's popular Jeep division, which sold a record 207,514 vehicles last year; a new Renault auto-assembly plant in Canada built for \$340 million but now worth an estimated \$800 million; and AMC's 1,472 North American dealerships.

The Chrysler-Renault agreement was the highlight of a surprisingly wild week of merger activity, which came at a time when many Wall Streeters had been expecting a slowdown in takeover bids because of tax reform and the insider-trading scandal (see following story). Chrysler, which began considering the AMC purchase last summer, estimates that it missed out on \$100 million worth of potential tax write-offs in the deal on Jan. 1 because the advantages were eliminated by the reform legislation. Nonetheless, Iacocca was determined to buy AMC. Said he: "The merger will strengthen both of us in what's already become a tough market."

The proposed acquisition will not shake up the rankings in the \$230 billion-

a-year U.S. auto industry. For increasingly robust Chrysler (1986 profits of \$1.4 billion on sales of \$22.6 billion), the deal would merely add AMC's piddling .7% car market share to the bigger firm's 10.3%. That would still leave the merged company far behind No. 2 Ford (18%) and GM (39.6%). But the purchase will help Chrysler solve a pressing problem: its factories do not have the capacity to produce enough cars to meet demand. Chrysler had started easing that production crunch by contracting out the assembly of various Chrysler, Dodge and Plymouth models to AMC's venerable Kenosha, Wis., factory, where the Renault Alliance is also produced.

More important, perhaps, the purchase of AMC's Jeep line helps Chrysler, which has led the way with such innovations as the minivan, leap into a market segment where it is not represented: the fast-growing sport-utility line. Some 732,000 sport-utility vehicles, including such models as the Jeep Cherokee, Ford



Bronco II and Chevy S-10 Blazer, were sold last year, offering a new kind of competition to the suburban station wagon. That total could reach 1 million by 1991.

Along with AMC's assets will come some sizable debts. Product-liability suits claiming damages of more than \$1.7 billion have been filed against AMC for turnover accidents in Jeeps. Those injured claim that, among other things, the vehicle's roll bar offered inadequate protection. Under the proposed agreement, Chrysler will assume liability for any damages assessed up to an undisclosed ceiling, and Renault will help with any payments above that.

For Renault, the results of the deal are



Portents of a merger: Chrysler Fifth Avenues, left.

mixed. In effect, the company is bowing out of North American auto production, which it entered when it first signed a joint marketing agreement with AMC in 1979. The timing of the retreat is peculiar. AMC is about to introduce a new midsize sedan, the Premier, in October. The car, expected to sell for around \$12,000, will still be built at the Canadian plant that Renault has now agreed to sell to Chrysler. This month Renault has begun exporting to the U.S. a new \$10,000 compact, the Medallion, which Chrysler would continue to market. In addition, a new \$30,000 Renault sports car, the Alpine, is due to appear in the fall, and that too will be sold by Chrysler. Said one AMC board member last week: "It's as if Renault had decided to the end of nine months and decided it didn't really want to be a father."

In Paris last week, Renault Chairman Raymond Lévy emphasized that the proposed sale to Chrysler was "not an admission of failure." But he added that "we must concentrate our forces on our core businesses in Europe and not disperse them elsewhere." Translation: the financially battered, government-owned French company (estimated 1986 losses of \$660 million or more on sales of around \$21.6 billion) has spent \$650 million during the past eight years in gradually assuming its controlling interest in AMC, but to little avail. Last year AMC's sales of the Alliance amounted to only 77,005 cars, down 41% from 1985 and the worst figures the company has released in 30 years. Renault still hopes to export some \$5.8 billion worth of autos and spare parts to the U.S. over the next five years.

For AMC, last week's announcement was, of course, a milestone. Even



Alongside AMC-Renault Alliances on Kenosha assembly lines

though Iacocca said AMC will remain intact as a Chrysler subsidiary, at least for a time, the sale agreement marks the demise of a firm with origins that date back to 1902 and the production at Kenosha of the first four-cylinder Rambler automobile by the Thomas B. Jeffery Co. A series of mergers culminated in the formation of American Motors in 1954. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, under the chairmanship of George Romney, the company carved out a niche for itself as a groundbreaking producer of small classics like the Nash Rambler, in competition with what Romney called the "gas-guzzling dinosaurs" of Detroit's Big Three. After Romney's departure, the firm tried to compete head to head with the Big Three, with increasingly dismal results. The company's last big coup came in 1970, when it bought Kaiser-Jeep, the manufacturer of the descendants of those rugged vehicles that became famous for carting around the American military during World War II.

The Chrysler-Renault announcement was greeted with moderate amounts of jubilation by AMC's 19,500 workers. Says Cliff Shively, 34, a driver at Jeep's assembly plant in Toledo: "Whatever Iacocca touches turns to gold." The 5,400 workers at AMC's Kenosha plant had already voiced their approval of the chance to produce Chrysler and AMC vehicles side by side. But that may change when some of the creaky AMC facilities Chrysler is buying become prime candidates for shutdown.

Pulling together the Chrysler-

Renault agreement was a marathon effort that was often in doubt. The push last summer to make a deal was started at Chairman Iacocca's behest, about three months after Chrysler began negotiating the pact to lease AMC production facilities at Kenosha. The talks were suddenly and tragically stalled last November when Renault's chairman at the time, Georges Besse, was assassinated by terrorists. The French government appointed Lévy as Besse's successor a month later. Iacocca and Lévy did not meet for the first time until Feb. 5. The agreement was finally sealed by Chrysler Corporate Vice

Chairman Robert Miller and his Renault opposite numbers in a 30-hour nonstop negotiating session over the March 8 weekend at the Paris offices of Sullivan & Cromwell, a Wall Street law firm. Recalls Miller: "It was a little steamy in there. None of us really brought much laundry."

Last week only a few voices were raised to wonder if Chrysler had taken itself to the cleaners. One of them, however, belonged to the influential Standard & Poor's credit-rating service. It announced that as a result of the AMC deal, Chrysler's credit rating was being placed on a watch list, with "negative implications." S&P estimated that the arrangement would cost Chrysler \$2 billion and said the company was receiving in return a "business with questionable prospects" — all of which will add to Chrysler's fixed overhead and increase its break-even point at a time that the industry faces a glut of automaking capacity."

Pessimism on Wall Street is unlikely to deter Iacocca, who has already brought Chrysler back once from the abyss. Nor is his confidence likely to be squelched by any fears about job security. In February, on the same day that he met with Renault's Lévy, Iacocca signed a new multimillion-dollar contract with Chrysler that keeps him in the chairman's job for four more years. He will have plenty of time to discover for himself whether the razzle-dazzle deal with Renault will work out for the best.

—By George Russell
Reported by William J. Mitchell/Detroit
and Harriet Welty/Paris



Iacocca was determined to push the negotiations forward
The acquisition, he says, will "strengthen both of us."



Early Jeeps carried the military during World War II



Their descendants, like this 1987 Cherokee Chief, cart families

Economy & Business

Who Said Takeovers Were Dead?

From casinos to airlines, the bidding becomes brisk again

Suddenly the merger whirlwind started blowing once again last week, into every corner of the economy. Chrysler's agreement to buy AMC was only the most stunning of a series of takeover bids and pacts that swept through the boardrooms of airline companies, book publishers, casino operators, shoemakers and retailers. Says Thom Brown, chief of investment policy at Butcher & Singer, a Philadelphia-based investment-banking firm: "There are so many deals in the works that it's hard to keep a cap on them."

The unexpected flurry seemed to defy a whole host of forces. Many Wall Streeters had thought tax reform would put at least a temporary damper on merger activity by taking away some of the deductions that help make the deals attractive. Another concern was that the insider-trading scandal would hurt the ability of investment firms to raise money for takeovers. A third impediment to mergers has been the continuing surge in stock prices, which has made takeovers increasingly expensive.

But none of these forces, as last week's action dramatically demonstrated, has repressed the urge to merge. Despite tax reform and rising stock prices, it is still cheaper to buy factories and offices than build them and easier to acquire new products than develop them. Modest interest rates, which are near ten-year lows, continue to make borrowing for takeovers relatively painless. Moreover, many dealmakers may be anxious to take advantage of the last two years of the Reagan Administration, which has been especially tolerant of huge mergers.

The rapid consolidation within the airline business may soon test the limits of the Administration's willingness to go along with the megamergers. Last week Piedmont Airlines announced that it had accepted a \$1.6 billion bid from USAir, which already has a deal in the works to buy Pacific Southwest Airlines for \$400 million. The combination of the three carriers would create the seventh largest U.S. airline, controlling about 7% of domestic traffic. But USAir is itself the target of a \$1.6 billion bid by TWA. Carl Icahn, the corporate raider who became TWA chairman last year, may envision a TWA-USAir-Piedmont-PSA aggregation that would become the third largest airline, with 16% of the market. Icahn, who controls 15% of USAir's stock, suffered at least a temporary setback last week when a federal judge barred him from buying additional shares.

Reebok's \$180 million acquisition of Avia Group International is another case of like marrying like: both companies make aerobics shoes. Reebok, which cloaks the feet of the fashion conscious,

controls about 70% of the \$330 million aerobics-shoe market. Privately held Avia, whose sales have risen from \$3 million to more than \$70 million during the past three years, enjoys about a 15% market share.

The Dart Group's offer to acquire Supermarkets General for \$1.6 billion would join two retailers. Dart owns discount auto-parts stores and book outlets, while Supermarkets General specializes in food and drugs. Some analysts suspect that the Haft family, which controls the Dart Group, would be perfectly content to stop short of an actual merger and sell its current shares in Supermarkets General at a profit.

Magazine Publisher Theodore Cross stands to earn a windfall after making a play last week for Harper & Row. Cross, who is already Harper's leading shareholder with 6% of the stock, offered \$150 million for the rest of the book-publishing company. One day later Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, a publishing conglomerate, bid \$220 million.

In the gambling business, the action in corporate boardrooms is almost as furious as it is at the craps tables. Real Estate Developer Donald Trump last week announced a \$101 million acquisition of Resorts International. Resorts owns two Atlantic City, N.J., casinos, including the Taj Mahal, which will rank as the world's largest gambling hall when it is completed next year. When the merger is accomplished, Trump will control some 15% of Atlantic City's assessed real estate.

Even as Trump and his fellow moguls were sorting out the final details of their deals, legislators in Washington were fuming about the latest spate of mergers. Some believe the Justice Department has acted irresponsibly in failing to challenge so many takeovers. While the volume of mergers has more than doubled since 1980, the number of federal court challenges to proposed transactions has declined by more than a third. Complained Democratic Senator Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio during hearings held last week by a Senate subcommittee: "Merger mania is rampant in this country today because the Reagan Administration has turned its back on antitrust laws." Metzenbaum has proposed legislation that would limit hostile takeovers.

The 50 state attorneys general last week voted unanimously to adopt merger guidelines that are stricter than those used by the Justice Department. Many states may now try to block some deals, no matter what the Federal Government says. Still, any legislation and legal action to curb megadeals will take time. Until then, says Wallace Turner, a broker at Manhattan-based Smith Barney, "takeover plays are alive and well." And plenty of stockbrokers, investors, traders and dealmakers intend to get in on the action while it lasts.

—By Barbara Rhodin

Reported by Rosemary Byrnes/Washington and Raji Samghabadi/New York

A WEEK OF MERGING

Dart Group

makes offer for

Supermarkets General

value of offer

\$1.6 billion



USAir

announces agreement with

Piedmont

value of deal

\$1.6 billion



Harcourt

makes offer for

Harper & Row

value of offer

\$220 million*



*Earlier offer of \$190 million made by Theodore Cross

Reebok

makes agreement with

Avia

value of deal

\$180 million



Donald Trump

signs agreement with

Resorts International

value of deal

\$101 million



TIME Chart by Nigel Holmes

The Insider Scandal Travels Abroad

A Briton and an Israeli are accused of illegal trading

Nahum Vaskevitch and David Sofer were well known respectively in London and Jerusalem financial circles, where they seemed the very models of the modern investment wizard. Less known to their colleagues—in fact, their deep, dark secret—was the amount of time they spent in frequent, terse phone conversations. Last week the subject of their calls became the stuff of scandal when the Securities and Exchange Commission charged Vaskevitch, 36, the head of international mergers in Merrill Lynch's London office, and Sofer, 46, an Israeli stock speculator, with ringing up more than \$4 million in illegal profits from a transatlantic insider-trading scheme.

The plot, which authorities say operated independently of the ring associated with Arbitrator Ivan Boesky, was nonetheless based on inside knowledge of U.S. corporate takeovers. As such, it provoked fresh concern in both the U.S. and Britain about the spreading abuse of inside information, which now appears to be virtually a way of life in a growing list of financial institutions. Said John Smith, the British Labor Party's top spokesman on trade and industry: "Quite frankly, it stinks."

These charges also revealed the growing ability of the SEC to crack cases without the help of the leads that played such a major role in the still spreading Boesky probe. Just as important, it demonstrated the SEC's willingness to track down suspects beyond U.S. borders, a crucial enforcement step in an era of global stock trading.

As a top Merrill Lynch mergerman, Vaskevitch was in a prime position to know about any takeover deal being planned by one of the giant investment house's clients. The SEC says Vaskevitch illegally passed such tips to Sofer, who then arranged to buy the takeover stocks through two Wall Street brokerage firms, MKI Securities and Russo Securities, neither of which has been charged with wrongdoing. The profits from the trades returned in a roundabout way to Vaskevitch and Sofer through two intermediate companies, situated in England and Liechtenstein, in which Sofer held an interest, the SEC claims.

Vaskevitch and Sofer allegedly used their setup to profit from at least twelve deals involving Merrill Lynch clients. Vaskevitch worked directly on one of them, the purchase in March 1986 of Her-

man's Sporting Goods by Britain's Dee Corp., which the SEC says produced a profit of \$263,988 for the two suspects. Their biggest haul was K mart's 1985 takeover of Pay Less Drug Stores Northwest, which the SEC contends brought them nearly \$1.2 million.

Their downfall began when officials of the New York Stock Exchange noticed unusually heavy advance trading in several takeover stocks. Since the 1960s, the exchange has been expanding a computerized Stock Watch system that monitors trading and alerts its experts to suspicious patterns. The exchange immediately tipped off the SEC, which built its case

raeli tobacco trader. Vaskevitch had already risen to head a merger operation for a British investment house by age 30, when he joined Merrill Lynch in 1981. He quickly became Merrill's top international mergerman and lived accordingly in a \$2.4 million London home filled with antique furniture.

Sofer, the son of a noted rabbi, is a silver-haired bachelor known for squiring an array of beautiful women around Jerusalem. He began building his fortune in the 1970s by discovering oil in the Sinai peninsula, then racked up more profits by speculating in the wildly bullish Tel Aviv stock market of that period. Sofer today maintains a suite in the Jerusalem Hilton, which he bought in 1982 for \$18 million in partnership with a group of U.S. investors, among them Fort Worth oilman Louis Barnett. The SEC claims that Sofer shared his illegal stock tips with Barnett and another friend, Michael Jesselson, whose father Ludwig Jesselson is the founder of Philip Bros., the U.S. commodity-trading house. So far, neither American has been charged.

For Merrill Lynch last week's accusations were a shock, even though the company was not accused of making any profits from the alleged insider dealing. It was still an end of innocence, since Vaskevitch was the firm's first investment banker to get caught up in the insider-trading scandals. Moreover, the involvement of so high an executive in the largest U.S. brokerage firm sent new waves of shivers through Wall Street. According to the rumor mill, which is now more preoccupied with subpoenas than proxy statements, as many as 60 Wall Streeters will be accused in connection with the Boesky scandal alone. Rumors about possible charges against the investment firm Drexel Burnham Lambert, which had close ties to Boesky, have become so vexing to the company that it has begun taking out two-page newspaper ads listing a roster of 238 contendents.

Suspicion of a wider insider-trading conspiracy on Wall Street were fanned last week by the release of an SEC study of 172 tender offers during 1981-85. In every instance, the target company's stock price rose abnormally at least 17 days before the takeover bid was made public. The study reached no firm conclusion about the cause, acknowledging that several factors, among them rumors and speculative press reports, might help explain the phenomenon. Nonetheless, "it is possible, and logical to many, that illegal insider-trading behavior" might be a significant factor, the study said. If so, the crackdown comes none too soon. —By Stephen Koep. Reported by Marlin Levin/Jerusalem and Frank Melville/London



The exchange's computers detect unusual buying patterns
A silver-haired speculator and an antiques-loving banker.



Nahum Vaskevitch

by tracing the trades to Vaskevitch and Sofer and then examining their telephone records. After the SEC filed the civil charges last week, a federal judge froze all current U.S. assets of Vaskevitch and Sofer to prevent the two from pulling the money out of the country. The SEC hopes to force the suspects to disgorge their profits and pay triple damages, all of which could total \$16 million. While no criminal charges have been filed against the two suspected insiders, the U.S. Attorney's office is conducting an investigation. If such charges result, Britain and Israel may be asked to extradite Vaskevitch and Sofer to the U.S. for trial.

Even so, the charges may have already shattered the careers of the two cosmopolitan go-getters. Merrill Lynch promptly fired Vaskevitch, citing his failure to give the company an explanation of the SEC's charges. The son of a wealthy Is-

Economy & Business

Charge of the Plastic Brigade

American Express starts a new credit-card war with Optima

The credit-card business used to be a nice, easy way for lenders to earn profits. No longer. The industry has become fiercely competitive and increasingly controversial. More and more players are trying to steal customers from their rivals by offering everything from memberships in private clubs and sweepstakes prizes to cut-rate interest rates. At the same time, the public is complaining about the high interest rates that come with their cards, and politicians are threatening banks and credit-card companies with restrictive legislation.

A new tempest arose in the industry last week when American Express, which already has 17 million U.S. cardholders, unveiled a new card called Optima. To the chagrin of competitors, Amex is charging users of the Optima card an interest rate of only 13.5% on their outstanding balances, far below the 18% to 22% that is typically charged by major banks and department stores. Though Optima will be available only to established American Express cardholders with good payment records, credit-card experts say it could draw a significant amount of business away from banks. John Pollock, editor of the *Bank Credit Card Observer*, an industry newsletter, predicted that Optima will unleash a "Boston Tea Party of consumers dumping expensive cards and moving to cards with lower rates."

Up until now, the credit-card lenders have had fairly well-defined turfs. On one side are the so-called travel-and-entertainment cards, including American Express and Diners Club. Customers who use these cards are expected to pay for their purchases within 30 days. No interest is charged, but penalties are assessed if payments are excessively late. On the other side are Visa and MasterCard. These cards are administered by national companies but issued through individual banks. Customers may make minimum monthly payments, but steep interest rates, determined by the banks, are charged on outstanding balances.

By introducing its new card, American Express has dramatically changed the terms of the competition and thrown the industry into a tizzy. Reason: while charging its lower interest rate, Optima will operate exactly like a bank Visa card or MasterCard. The banks are outraged by this intrusion into their domain, and the competitive battle promises to get nasty. Last week C. T. Russell, president of Visa, sent an urgent Mailgram to banks that issue his company's cards. Wrote Russell: "You might call [American Express Chairman James] Robinson and voice your displeasure over his decision to enter one of your most profitable lines of service. Second, you may wish to rethink your position in offering American Express products." That was a not so subtle suggestion that banks stop selling American Express traveler's checks, among other Amex services.

Banks may also face formidable new competition from retailers, who have traditionally issued cards only for use in their own stores. Two years ago, Sears introduced its Discover card, which can be used in 550,000 stores, hotels, gas stations and other outlets nationwide. Already 12 million customers carry the Discover card, which could become the model for other entrants into the credit-card fray.

The American Express Optima card will undoubtedly add to the intense pressure being put on banks and department stores to reduce their interest rates. Across the U.S., public officials and consumer groups are angry that credit-card charges have stayed high in recent years while other lending rates have sharply dropped. Two bills have been introduced in Congress that would establish national ceilings for credit-card interest. Six states—Arkansas, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Texas, Washington and Wisconsin—already limit that interest.

Last week Illinois State Treasurer Jerry Cosentino closed state accounts at the American National Bank of Chicago, in which about \$485 million is deposited annually. The bank had refused to lower its credit-card interest rate from 19.8% to about 14%. American National was the second Illinois bank to be hit with such a sanction by Cosentino.

Another irritation for some consumers is that banks are changing the rules about interest payments. Traditionally, for example, Visa and MasterCard holders have had 30 days in which to pay their bills in full before finance charges began. Now, however, dozens of banks have started to charge interest as soon as purchases are made.

Perhaps the most significant change adding to the turmoil in the credit-card industry is the advent of tax reform. Some experts think the new law will slow down the use of plastic credit because it phases out deductions for interest on card balances. But some banks are getting around that problem by linking Visa cards or MasterCards to a home-equity credit line. Interest on these home loans is still fully deductible. Customers can therefore get a credit line against their homes that permits them to run up as much as \$100,000 in interest-deductible card charges. But, warns Edward Kramer, senior vice president for the Dime Savings Bank of New York, which offers such a Visa card, "it's important to remember that this is a fien on your home."

As competition in the credit-card business intensifies, many lenders are blatantly trying to lure customers from rivals. People's Bank of Connecticut, which charges an unusually low 11.5% interest on its MasterCard, will lend people the money they need to pay off other credit-card balances and switch to its card. Buffalo-based Empire of America bank now offers its customers a novel choice. They can pay 18% interest on purchases with a Visa Classic card and enjoy the traditional 30-day grace period, or they can pay just 13.7% on a Visa Lite and tote up interest from Day 1. Tastes great, but it is more filling.

—By Janice Castro.

Reported by Gisela Bolte/Washington and Joseph N. Boyce/New York



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Economy & Business



Retired LTV steelworkers rally to save their medical benefits



Embarassing episode



Should this Fairchild laboratory be in Japanese hands?

TECHNOLOGY

Keep the Fox From the Coop

Every year hundreds of foreign firms offer to buy stakes in U.S. companies, and the Government barely notices. But the proposal by Fujitsu, the Japanese conglomerate, to acquire an 80% interest in Fairchild Semiconductor has begun ringing alarm bells in Washington. Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldridge and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger have asked the White House to consider blocking the purchase. Since Fairchild supplies computer chips to the U.S. military, the Cabinet officials fear that the deal could threaten national security. Baldridge is also concerned that through Fairchild, Fujitsu would gain a distribution system for its supercomputers, powerful machines that can be used to design weapons systems. At the same time, Japanese government institutions have refused to purchase U.S. supercomputers.

Congress is increasingly critical of the Japanese trade posture as well. Last week the Senate Finance Committee passed a resolution calling on the President to retaliate against Japan for its alleged failure to live up to the July 1986 semiconductor trade pact. Under that agreement, Japan promised to refrain from selling its chips in the U.S. at prices that are below

cost. Concludes Baldridge: "The level of anti-Japanese trade feeling is higher than ever before."

REGULATION

More Bucks For Babble

The monthly cost of ordinary local telephone service has long been a bargain subsidized by comparatively heavy charges levied on long-distance callers. Now the bargain may be slashed. Last week a seven-member panel of federal and state telephone regulators recommended to the Federal Communications Commission the phasing in over the next two years of a \$1.50-a-month increase in the \$2 subscriber line fee charged to households and small businesses across the country. The hike would be used in part to lower long-distance charges by as much as \$17 billion over the next six years.

BENEFITS

Left Out In the Cold

It was freezing and windy in Washington last week, but that did not stop hundreds of LTV retirees from rallying at the Capitol. They were demonstrating to save their medical and life-insurance benefits.

which the steel and defense company canceled when it went into bankruptcy proceedings last July. Although the benefits were restored by the bankruptcy court, Congress passed a measure last October that extended the benefits, that protection expires on May 15, and the retirees are lobbying the lawmakers to give them permanent insurance coverage. Congress is considering legislation that would require all bankrupt firms to get court approval before eliminating retiree benefits.

SWINDLES

Bad Marks at Volkswagen

Volkswagen executives had been feeling justifiably proud that their Golf model has become the best-selling car in Europe. Last week the corporate backslapping suddenly stopped. The West German firm announced that it had been the victim of a swindle that would cost it nearly \$260 million. Though VW provided no details, financial analysts believe the money was fraudulently lost by traders who were involved in the company's continuous exchanges of dollars and other currencies for deutsche marks.

The carmaker said it had filed a criminal complaint against "unidentified persons." VW also suspended six executives who had authority over

the company's currency-trading operations, apparently for not catching the swindle in progress.

RETAILING

From Blackface To Redface

For Colgate-Palmolive, the affair has been an embarrassing reminder that overseas investments must be made with care. In 1985 the Manhattan-based company bought 50% of Hawley & Hazel Chemical, a Hong Kong firm that has long sold a popular toothpaste in Southeast Asia. The only problem: the toothpaste package bore the smiling blackface image of Al Jolson, and the product's name was Darkie.

Last year Colgate-Palmolive's new brand came to the attention of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, a Manhattan group that works with churches. When it protested to Colgate-Palmolive about Darkie, the firm did nothing to change the product for several months, contending that the label "was not offensive to Asians." But after continued pressure, the company finally promised "to eliminate any offensive implications." Now Colgate-Palmolive is testing revised package designs, including one using a young, modern, well-dressed black. Among the new names under consideration are Hawley and Darbie.

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Religion

Technology and the Womb

Rome denounces some rapidly spreading methods of conception

A child must never be "desired or conceived as the product of an intervention of medical or biological techniques; that would be equivalent to reducing him to an object of scientific technology." With those stern words of admonition, the Vatican, acting with the full endorsement of Pope John Paul II, last week denounced virtually all the rapidly spreading methods of artificial procreation, deeming them to be violations of both the rights of man and the laws of God.

That strongly conservative stand was proclaimed in a 40-page document issued by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, the Vatican agency that is responsible for monitoring orthodoxy. Said West Germany's Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, head of the congregation, at a Rome press conference: "What is technologically possible is not also morally admissible." The document is being termed "Ratzinger's catechism" because of its substantial use of a question-and-answer format. Clinical in tone, the text bears the title *Instruction on Respect for Human Life in Its Origin and on the Dignity of Procreation: Replies to Certain Questions of the Day*.

The *Instruction* is not published as an infallible pronouncement but carries definitive authority as an exercise of the church's teaching power. The document, however, does more than insist that Catholics submit to its instructions; it also calls on governments to pass laws prohibiting a number of the controversial reproductive techniques. The Pope clearly expects his bishops to lobby for such statutes. The day after the text was published, the Italian bishops urged their nation's legislators to create a "legal order conforming to the needs of moral law."

The Vatican is not only boldly resisting trends in biological research and medicine but, in the case of a few practices commonly in use, also rejecting the opinions of numerous Roman Catholic moral theologians. The document's release quickly provoked widespread debate not only on the ethics of the reproductive techniques it discusses but on the propriety of the Vatican's attempt to influence public policy on a medical issue, particularly in pluralistic societies. Many Americans claimed the words from Rome would have little impact on daily practices.

To theological experts, the text contained no major surprises, since there has been a long development of consistent papal teaching on reproductive technology. But

the statement is dramatic because it collects points from scattered pontifical addresses and other church pronouncements into a strong, coherent policy about medical techniques that have become widespread.

The major practices condemned:

ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION. This is the oldest and by far the most common of the



Cardinal Ratzinger at Vatican news conference
"No" to the brave new worlds of human reproduction.

techniques prohibited. The *Instruction* not only opposes the introduction into a womb of sperm from a "third party" donor other than the husband but rejects the use of a husband's sperm. The first condemnation of artificial insemination came in a 1949 speech by Pope Pius XII, but the teaching has been ignored by many Catholic couples and disputed by some theologians.

IN VITRO FERTILIZATION. In this technique, eggs are fertilized outside the womb in laboratory vessels, and the resulting embryo is implanted in a womb. Since Louise Brown of England became the first test-tube baby nine years ago, 1,992 babies have been born this way, according to one reliable estimate. As with artificial insemination, Rome opposes the use not only of eggs or sperm from "third parties" but of implanted embryos, even if the eggs were fertilized by the husband's sperm. This marks the first definitive church denunciation of the practice, although the pre-

scient Pope Pius XII criticized the in vitro concept as early as 1956.

SURROGATE MOTHERHOOD. This method involves a woman bearing a child on behalf of others, often for payment, through artificial insemination or the implantation of a fertilized egg. The practice has caused a widely publicized and anguish-struggling between two New Jersey couples in the so-called Baby M. case: a decision by Judge Harvey Sorkow is soon expected. Harold Cassidy, a Catholic lawyer representing the surrogate mother of Baby M., who wants to keep her child, thinks the Vatican teaching helps his case. Opposing Lawyer Gary Skoloff scoffs at that but agrees with Rome that laws are needed. "No one wants any more Baby M. cases," he asserts.

EMBRYO EXPERIMENTS. The *Instruction* allows medical treatment of human embryos or fetuses within the womb only if it is therapeutic for the new life. Experimental interventions for the sole purpose of advancing medical knowledge are forbidden. Prenatal diagnosis is allowed, but not if the intention might be abortion rather than treatment. The *Instruction* rules out the use of human fetuses for experiments or for obtaining biochemical products.

In a broad attack on reproductive technology, the document denounces a number of theoretical scientific advances, such as human births from artificial wombs, gestation of human embryos within animals, and hybrids formed by crossing humans with animal species. Also prohibited: asexual human reproduction, whether by cloning (creation of genetically identical individuals from a single cell), parthenogenesis (reproduction from unfertilized eggs) or twin fission (surgical splitting of an embryo to produce twins).

Pope John Paul, who was profoundly involved in the preparation of the document, believes the techniques must be halted because they threaten the respect for human life that is fundamental to Christianity. To John Paul, who lived for years under Nazi rule, human beings must never be treated as "objects" that are available for scientific manipulation.

Though the techniques in question may be complex, Rome's doctrinal opposition to them stems from two simple, if controversial, principles. The first, which also undergirds the church's stance against abortion, holds that from the point when sperm and egg unite, a fertilized egg or embryo must be accorded, in the words of the document, the "unconditional respect that is morally due to the human being." That rules out the embryo manipulations that are often necessary in the research and ap-

plication of a number of the reproductive techniques. This view provides an argument against the *in vitro* technique because in that process unused fertilized eggs are discarded. However, Dr. Martin Quigley, a Cleveland fertilization expert, denies that any U.S. IVF program "would routinely destroy" an embryo. Claiming the Vatican has been misinformed, he insists that most "spare" embryos are kept for later attempts at pregnancy.

The second principle is that reproduction should occur, as the *Instruction* says, only "in marriage through the specific and exclusive acts of husband and wife," that is, normal sexual intercourse. In the Vatican view, couples must combine the "unitive" (sexual) and the "procreative" aspects of marriage. Artificial methods of

embryos, single women and lesbian couples. Lawyer George Annas, professor of health law at Boston University's School of Medicine, notes the possibility that a child could have five different parents: the father who donates sperm, the mother who produces the ovum, the mother who provides the womb, and the mother and the father who raise the child.

The Pope and his doctrinal watchdogs find these developments violations of the dignity of the nascent human life, transgressions of the child's right to be born into a natural family, interference with natural sexual reproduction between husband and wife, or attempts at sinister scientific "control and domination" over the human person. In addition, the *In-*

conservative" Patrick Sieptoe, the British doctor who delivered Louise Brown, called the teaching "rather ridiculous," adding, "Our experiments may benefit a great deal of people in the future. I think it is perfectly moral to conduct them."

One sharp critic within church circles is Daniel Maguire, a liberal theologian at Marquette University, who opposes official teaching on abortion. "It's a document born into obsolescence. Rome is speaking to the Catholic right wing and from the Catholic right wing." Edward Marui, a Chicago-area Catholic doctor and fertility expert, says childless Catholics are "incensed" at the church's tough line. Two days after the Vatican's prohibition was issued, Susan Fitter, 33, of Lawton, Okla., who has been trying to have a



Removing eggs from a woman for later fertilization with husband's sperm: "What is technologically possible is not also morally admissible."

producing children consider only procreation, says Rome, while artificial methods of birth control consider only the sexual aspect. Since artificial insemination and *in vitro* fertilization bypass the normal "conjugal act," neither method is allowed.

On this point some Catholic theologians question the *Instruction*. Notable among them is Jesuit Father Richard McCormick of the University of Notre Dame, who thinks the *in vitro* passage is the "weakest part" of the entire statement. In his view "the child should be the product of a loving act. That doesn't necessarily translate as a result of an act of sexual intercourse." McCormick agrees that the "unitive" and "procreative" spheres need not be combined in every act of a married couple.

Many Protestants share the Vatican's alarm over the ever braver worlds of human reproduction that advanced biomedical techniques have made possible. Clinics are now assisting in fertilizations involving donor sperm, donor eggs, donor

Instruction expresses fears that reproductive technology invites discrimination among human beings, weakened protection for vulnerable people, and eugenic schemes to fashion a more desirable super-race.

Even though it was armed with earlier papal speeches on biological ethics, Rome decided to prepare a formal document in response to requests from many bishops as the new techniques were becoming more widespread. In fact, some worried Catholics think the Vatican has been too cautious, rather than too bold, by waiting so long to speak out. The Pontifical Council for the Family has received letters from scores of couples, most of them American, asking for guidance or expressing concern about the technologies. The doctrinal congregation spent 20 months writing the text, consulting some 60 moral theologians and 22 scientists from various nations.

One of the experts consulted, Catholic Neurosurgeon Robert J. White of Cleveland, finds the resulting document "ultra-

child for four years, went ahead with her decision to use *in vitro* fertilization with her husband's sperm for later implantation in a surrogate carrier. She has decided that she would leave the church rather than submit to the teaching. Says she: "I simply will not remain a Roman Catholic. Children are the No. 1 priority of my husband and me, and we're willing to sacrifice a lot for it."

At the Rome press conference introducing the *Instruction*, Cardinal Ratzinger indicated he had anticipated negative reactions. He said the church sympathizes with the desire of couples to have children and of researchers to extend knowledge. "However, honesty of the aim and goodness of intentions are not sufficient," he insisted. "The no to certain experiments and to certain reproductive techniques is actually a yes to man, a witness to the dignity and deliverance of man."

—By Richard N. Ostling
Reported by Cathy Booth/Rome and Michael P. Harris/New York

Science

COVER STORY

Supernova!

Scientists are agog over the brightest exploding star in 383 years

It was a glacial period, and in southern Africa the climate was cooler than it is today. Giraffes, hyenas and baboons abounded, along with now-extinct giant horses and hartebeests and buffaloes with 13-ft. horn spans. Neanderthal man had not yet emerged, but intelligent beings already roamed the savanna, upright creatures known today as archaic Homo sapiens, who could fashion crude axes, picks and cleavers out of stone. On a clear night 170,000 years ago, one of these ancestors of man may have looked up at a milky band of stars stretching across the sky. His eyes pausing briefly on a patch of light that seemed to have broken away from the band.

At that moment, in the distant patch—actually a small galaxy now known as the Large Magellanic Cloud—a supergiant star glowed fiercely, showing no outward signs of its impending doom. Suddenly, in a cataclysmic blast, it exploded, brightening until it outshone a hundred million stars the size of the sun. In every direction the intense light, traveling at 186,282 miles per second, radiated out into the universe, some of it heading toward a minor planet orbiting an average star in the neighboring and much larger Milky Way galaxy.

Some 170,000 years later, on that minor planet, man had evolved, developed technology, built great cities and, in an effort to better understand his place in the universe, developed great instruments that could peer deep into space. It was not until then, on the night of Feb. 23, 1987, that the first light emitted by the exploding star, having traveled a billion billion miles through space, finally reached the earth. Some of the light passed through the lens of a 10-in. telescope at Las Campanas Observatory on a windblown 8,000-ft. mountaintop in northern Chile and was reflected into a camera set up by

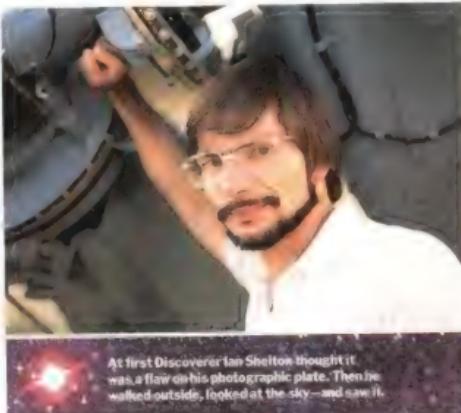
Ian Shelton, a Canadian astronomer. Shelton, 29, assigned to the observatory by the University of Toronto, had been taking long exposures of the Large Magellanic Cloud (LMC), a task that occupied him until 2:40 a.m. on Feb. 24. Recalls Shelton: "I decided enough was enough. It was time to go to bed." But before turning in, he made up his mind to develop the

in terrestrial skies since 1604.

News of Shelton's discovery, promptly named 1987A (for the first supernova of the year), was telegraphed to observatories around the world by the International Astronomical Union. Word spread through the scientific community at close to the speed of light, producing outright euphoria and the kind of giddy remarks seldom heard from scientists: "It's so exciting, it's hard to sleep," said John Bahcall, an astrophysicist at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, N.J. "It's like Christmas," exclaimed Astronomer Stan Woosley of the University of California at Santa Cruz. "We've been waiting for this for 383 years."

For the first time modern scientists had the opportunity to observe close up, by astronomical standards, nature's most spectacular display. They could train sophisticated instruments on an exploding star and analyze in detail a phenomenon fundamental to the structure of the universe, to the formation of stars and indeed to life itself.

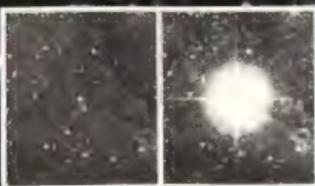
An overstatement? Hardly. The stupendous processes that lead to and occur during a supernova are responsible for the production of many of the elements in the universe. These elements are hurled into the cosmos by the force of the supernova blast to form great clouds of gas and dust. Subsequent supernovas send shock waves through the clouds, coalescing gas and dust and starting the formation of new stars and planets. Thus the planets and any life that evolves on them consist of elements forged in supernovas. Furthermore, these stellar explosions generate energetic particles, known as cosmic rays, that can cause mutations in terrestrial organisms and may have played a direct role in the evolution of life on earth. In a very literal sense, says University of Illinois Astrophysicist



At first Discoverer Ian Shelton thought it was a flaw on his photographic plate. Then he walked outside, looked at the sky...and saw it.

last photographic plate. Lifting the plate from the developing tank, he scrutinized it, then stopped short. There, near a feature within the LMC known as 30 Doradus, or the Tarantula nebula, was an unfamiliar bright spot.

"I was sure that there was some plate flaw on it," Shelton says, "but it was no flaw." He walked outside, looked up at the Large Magellanic Cloud and, without a telescope or binoculars, clearly saw the exploding star, or supernova. While hundreds of supernovas occurring in incredibly distant galaxies have been spotted by powerful telescopes, this was the first visible to the naked eye since 1885. More important, at a distance of only 170,000 light-years, it was the brightest one to appear



BEFORE

AFTER

Suddenly it flared into view, shining with the
brilliance of a hundred million stars.

Larry Smarr, "we are the grandchildren of supernovas."

For scientists this opportunity to dissect a supernova, perhaps even to find on old photographic plates the very star that created the spectacle, will test theories of stellar evolution and death that until now were largely dependent on equations, computer runs and unbridled imagination. "What makes this supernova exciting," says Robert Garrison, an astronomer at the University of Toronto's telescope at Las Campanas, "is that it's writing the textbook. The theoreticians are letting themselves go wild thinking of all the possibilities." Says Physics Nobel Laureate Carlo Rubbia: "This is the beginning of scientific research on supernovas. It was science fiction before. Now it's science fact." What was perhaps most remarkable about the hubbub was that scientists were studying an event that occurred 170,000 years ago and was now being played out, like a rerun on television of an old newsmagazine, before their very eyes.

It is little wonder, then, that within hours of 1987A's discovery, an extraordinary array of scientific brainpower and hardware was brought to bear on the celestial phenomenon. Throughout the southern hemisphere (the supernova is not visible in northern skies), in South America, Australia and South Africa, telescopes of every size were focused on the bright newcomer in the Large Magellanic Cloud. NASA promptly ordered some of its satellites to do the same. On its way to a rendezvous with Neptune in 1989, the Voyager 2 spacecraft pointed its two ultraviolet-light detectors at the supernova. The Solar Max satellite turned its attention from its primary target, the sun, to measure the gamma rays emanating from 1987A. The International Ultraviolet Explorer began measuring the supernova's ultraviolet radiation. In Japan space officials hurried a newly launched satellite through its calibration tests so that it could begin detecting X rays emitted by 1987A's hot gases.

Far below ground, in a salt mine under Lake Erie, in the Kamioka lead and zinc

mine in Japan, in the Mont Blanc Tunnel linking Italy and France, and in another tunnel under Mount Elbrus in the Soviet Union, scientists carefully examined data from computer printouts. They were hoping that some of the ethereal particles called neutrinos, predicted by theory to be produced during a supernova, had penetrated the earth, leaving their trail in huge liquid-filled neutrino detectors. Astrophys-

ward at nearly 10,000 miles per second. Since then the color of the supernova has been changing from blue to red much faster than expected. "That change is five to ten times faster than other supernovas," says Robert Williams, director of the U.S.-financed Cerro Tololo Inter-American Observatory in Chile. This phenomenon indicates that the rapid expansion of the shell is causing it to cool, thus shifting the wavelength of the emitted light more deeply into the red end of the visible spectrum. Also surprising was 1987A's low luminosity. "If it had lived up to its initial expectations," says Williams, "it should have increased its brightness to a magnitude of around 1 to 0." (A lower number means a brighter star. Sirius, the brightest star in the sky, has a magnitude of -1.5 .) That would have made it look nearly as bright as the brightest stars in the night sky. Instead, the supernova rose only to a magnitude of 4.5—equivalent to that of a medium-bright star—but then stopped and hovered around that figure.

Those early characteristics lead Williams to speculate that 1987A "may have had an antecedent star that was not that massive, as supernovas go." By comparing the supernova's position with older photographs of the Large Magellanic Cloud, many astronomers at first identified a hot blue supergiant star, called SK-69 202, as the probable progenitor of 1987A. But that conclusion troubled everyone; theory holds that a star with these characteristics is too young to expire in a final explosion. Two weeks ago, as the initial ultraviolet radiation from the blast began to die down, the astronomers breathed a collective sigh of relief: ultraviolet scans indicated that the blue star might still be intact. Says Catharine Garmany, an astronomer at the University of Colorado: "It is probably shaking in its boots, but we're beginning to think it's still there." The scientists shifted their attention to two nearby, somewhat fainter stars visible on older plates. But these choices also worried them, because the progenitor should have been much brighter.

At least one of the events predicted in theory apparently occurred. All four neutrino detectors recorded the arrival of bursts of the elusive little particles—before the light appeared.



icist J. Craig Wheeler, of the University of Texas in Austin, summarized the activity while addressing a hastily convened meeting of astronomers at NASA's Goddard Space Flight Center the week after the discovery. "These are frantic times."

By the end of last week scientists had already amassed more data than they could immediately analyze, confirming some theoretical predictions and making several observations that for the time being puzzled everyone. Earliest readings showed that the shell of gases expanding around 1987A was initially traveling out-

TYPE I SUPERNOVA



Fascination with supernovas is hardly confined to modern science. Like today's astrologers, ancient civilizations believed the stars had a direct influence on earthly affairs, and the Chinese, who carefully recorded any changes in the sky, were especially impressed by "guest stars." They regarded such astronomical visitors as omens of important events on earth. What may be the earliest Chinese record of a supernova is an inscription on a bit of bone, dating from about 1300 B.C., that describes a bright star appearing near the star now known as Antares.

While there is some question whether this and several other of the earliest recorded sightings involved actual exploding stars, there is little doubt about the guest star of A.D. 185. "Second year of the Chung-p'ing reign period," reads an ancient Chinese text, "tenth month, day *kuai-hai*, a guest star appeared within *nan-men*. It was as large as half a mat; it was multicolored, and it scintillated. It gradually became smaller and disappeared in the sixth month of the year after next." The description, especially concerning the brightness and slow fade of the star, seems to confirm the appearance of a supernova.

Ancient records indicate that the Chinese spotted five more supernovas in the next millennium, all in the Milky Way galaxy, and some of these starbursts were also noted by other cultures. The brilliant supernova of A.D. 1006 was seen and described by an Egyptian scribe named Ali ibn Ridwan and by European monks. The exploding star of 1181 was noted by the Japanese. But it is the supernova of July 4, 1054, which suddenly blazed in the constellation Taurus, near Orion, that is perhaps most significant to present-day astronomers. It exploded only about 6,000 light-years away and left behind the slowly writhing, gradually expanding and delicately beautiful cloud of glowing gas known as the Crab nebula. Studies

of the structure and dynamics of the Crab have provided modern astronomers with important insights into supernova explosions.

The Crab supernova was, at its brightest, as brilliant as the planet Venus and visible during the daytime; its appearance was noted not only by the Chinese and Japanese but possibly also by Indians in the American Southwest. The New

found that they saw an 1181 stellar explosion. It was not until November 1572 that Europe joined the fraternity of distinguished supernova recorders. Although Danish Astronomer Tycho Brahe was not the first to spot the new star that appeared in the constellation Cassiopeia, he ensured that posterity would associate his name with it by writing a book titled *De Nova Stella* (Concerning the New Star).

The next supernova to be seen by the naked eye happened only 32 years later, in 1604, in the constellation Ophiuchus, and its best-remembered witness was Brahe's former assistant Johannes Kepler. Unlike most supernovas, this one was seen before it reached maximum brightness. So Kepler's descriptions of the blazing star are of particular interest to astronomers. His observations would have been even more detailed and valuable had they been made with a telescope. Unfortunately, the star's timing was off. The supernova lighted the night skies just a scant five years before Galileo made the first documented telescopic scan of the heavens, discovering mountains on the moon and spots on the sun.

If the previous 1,800 years of astronomical history are any guide, astronomers say, a supernova visible to the naked eye should occur in or near the Milky Way galaxy four times every thousand years or so. But from 1604 to 1987, none were recorded. (The supernova of 1885, just on the threshold of visibility in the night sky, took place in the Andromeda galaxy, 2.2 million light-years away.) To be sure, many stars flared up during this interval. But astronomers now know they were not supernovas but nearby novas. These are shorter-lived events, caused by the sudden explosion of gases in a class of stars known as white dwarfs, that release only one one-thousandth the energy of a supernova.

It was not until the 1930s that Caltech



The Crab Nebula is the spectacular remnant of a supernova seen in A.D. 1054. At its center: a superdense, rapidly spinning neutron star.

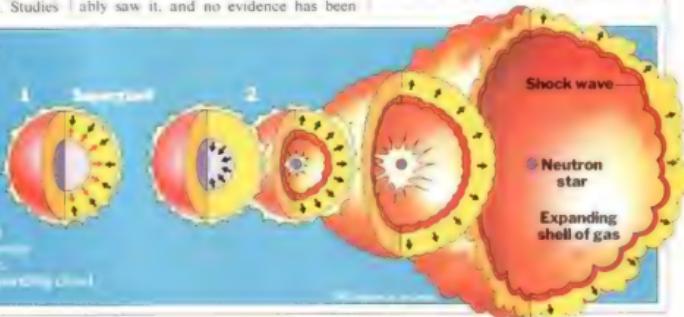
World evidence comes in the form of images carved and painted on rock walls in northern Arizona showing a celestial object adjacent to a crescent moon. There is no proof that this primitive artwork represents the supernova, but archaeological dating techniques show the Indians were in the area when the star flared, and astronomers have calculated that the supernova indeed appeared in the sky very close to the crescent moon.

Europeans left no known record of the Crab supernova, although some probably saw it, and no evidence has been

TYPE II SUPERNOVA

1. Energy from the nuclear reactions in the central white dwarf star creates a shock wave moving outward from the star's center.

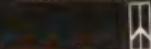
2. When the energy builds up to the critical point, the star's outer layers are ejected. A shock wave originates from the center, heating the dense, expanding shell.



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The Fate of the Sun

*Some say the world will end in fire,
Some say in ice.
From what I've tasted of desire
I hold with those who favor fire.
But if it had to perish twice,
I think I know enough of hate
To say that for destruction ice
Is also great
And would suffice.**

Robert Frost wrote *Fire and Ice* in 1923, some four decades before astrophysicists were able to fathom how the sun—and thus the earth—would die. Nonetheless, he was basically correct: first fire, then ice. The fire will not be an explosion like the one now brightening the Large Magellanic Cloud; the sun is thought to have only about a tenth of the mass necessary to become a Type II supernova and has no stellar companion to contribute the mass necessary to turn it into a Type I blast. But that will be of little comfort to whatever creatures exist on earth when the sun is in its death throes: the final solar convulsions, while feeble compared to those of a supernova, will wipe out all life on the planet.

Fortunately for the earth's current inhabitants, the sun is enjoying a stable middle age, about halfway between its formation some 4.5 billion years ago and its demise about 5 billion years hence. Its radiation may fluctuate by a few hundredths of a percent here and there (data from the Solar Max satellite indicate that the sun's radiation declined from 1980 through 1985). But solar behavior has never been erratic enough to threaten all terrestrial life with extinction.

The real trouble will begin as the sun nears the 10 billion-year mark, when the thermonuclear fires that have been burning since its birth have fused all the hydrogen fuel in the solar core into helium. As the fuel runs out, the nuclear fire will die down, and the now largely helium core—which has been kept distended by the heat—will begin to contract under its own gravitational pull.

As the core contracts, however, its internal pressures will rise, forcing the temperature rapidly back up again until the intense heat ignites the unfused hydrogen gas surrounding the core. The interior of the sun will now be hotter than ever, a dense core of incandescent helium surrounded by a thin shell of hot, fusing hydrogen. Over the next few hundred million years, heat from the core will drive surface layers of the sun so far outward that they will cool to about two-thirds of the current 6,000° C surface temperature, and redden. The sun will have become a red giant, so large that it will engulf the planet Mercury, perhaps extending to encompass the orbit of the earth. Even if the swollen sun stretches no farther out than Mercury, however, the heat reaching earth will be from 500 to 1,000 times as great as it is today. Oceans will boil, and life will be incinerated.

Finally, after a cycle of contraction and re-expansion, the sun's surface gravity will be so low the outer layers will boil off into space, leaving behind only the naked core, a lump of matter about as big as the earth, but with 60% of the sun's original mass, glowing blue-hot at perhaps 120,000° C. That stage will mark the end of the sun's active life; its nuclear fires will never again turn on. Slowly it will cool until it is first a white dwarf, still glowing, then a cold black dwarf, a cinder. In the blackness of space, as in *Fire and Ice*, the lifeless earth will pass into an eternal deep freeze.

*Reprinted from *The Poetry of Robert Frost* by permission of Henry Holt and Co.

Astronomer Fritz Zwicky recognized supernovas (he coined the name) as a class of exploding star fundamentally different from ordinary novas. With colleague Walter Baade, he began formulating the modern theory about how supernovas explode and launched the first systematic search for them. While the average galaxy has only an occasional supernova, Zwicky reasoned, there are so many distant galaxies visible through large telescopes, astronomers should have no trouble finding the great explosions popping out all over the universe. At first Zwicky's colleagues thought the idea ridiculous, but over the four decades that followed, he and his team found nearly 300 supernovas, about 30 times as many as appear in all of recorded history prior to 1885; the contributions of other astronomers have pushed the total to more than 600.

Armmed with a growing number of examples, theorists refined their views of stellar evolution in general and of how, for some stars, an inevitable violent death occurs. The basic theme: a star performs a continual balancing act between its own immense gravity, which tries to pull all of its matter in toward the center, and the intense thermonuclear energy radiating from its core, which pushes the matter outward, keeping the star in the form of a distended ball of hot gases. For most of a star's lifetime, these forces are in equilibrium.

When the nuclear fuel is exhausted and the fusion reactions stop, however, gravity takes over. Without the outward pressure needed to keep it "inflated," the core of the star begins to collapse like a deflating balloon, its matter crushing down toward the center. For a star about the size of the sun, the collapse stops after several intermediate steps when the stellar material is compressed so much that its atoms virtually touch, forming what physicists call degenerate matter, what prevents further collapse is the tendency of the atoms' negatively charged electrons to repel one another. The star has become a white dwarf. Says David Branch, an astrophysicist at the University of Oklahoma: "It's the size of the earth but has the mass of the sun."

Degenerate matter is so resistant to further compression that nothing much can happen to a white dwarf unless, as is common in the Milky Way, it is part of a binary star system. If it is, the white dwarf's powerful gravity can draw gaseous matter away from its companion. In some cases, as the dwarf becomes bloated with its companion's substance, gravitational pressure triggers a fusion reaction in the captured gases, which are blown off in the explosion, resulting in a garden-variety (nonsupernova) accretion. According to Astrophysicist Branch, about 50 novas are observed flaring up each year in the Milky Way.

If the captured matter fails to ignite, however, the dwarf's mass increases until it approaches the point—known as Chandrasekhar's limit, for University of Chicago astronomer Subrahmanyan Chandra-



sekhar, who first characterized it—at which its own gravity will overcome even the powerful repulsive force between electrons. When the dwarf's mass reaches about 1.4 times that of the sun (the exact figure depends on the star's makeup), the star suddenly begins to collapse again, heating up so violently that its core ignites in a sudden thermonuclear fire. The result: a supernova. "It takes half a second for the flame to cross the whole white dwarf," says Santa Cruz's Woosley. "So much energy is released that the entire star is disrupted. It blows itself to smithereens." Such an exploding star is known as a Type I supernova; historical accounts of the rate at which Brahe's and Kepler's supernovas dimmed suggest to modern astronomers that both were probably Type I.

Even if a star begins life with as much as eight times the mass of the sun, it has more than likely ejected so much matter from its outer layers in the course of evolving it ends up with a mass below Chandrasekhar's limit. Hence it will become a white dwarf and a candidate for either stable, long-term cooling or, if it has a close companion, nova- or supernova-hood. In fact, since a white dwarf has inevitably lost its outer, hydrogen-rich layers (no matter what its original size), the lack of detectable hydrogen in a supernova explosion typically identifies it as a Type I.

If the stellar mass exceeds eight times

that of the sun, however, the star has a short, spectacular life, turning into a red supergiant and ending its life by exploding as a Type II supernova. Says Woosley: "Big stars burn the candle at both ends, and they go out in style." After only 7 million years of existence, according to Woosley, the fast-burning star has probably fused all its hydrogen into helium and begins to contract. The compression drives the temperature up to 180 million degrees Celsius, more than high enough to begin fusing helium atoms and releasing more energy. The star then expands again, remaining stable for about 600,000 years, until all the helium atoms have been fused into carbon and oxygen. Then, in successively shorter intervals and with ever higher temperatures, the star expands and contracts, its fires dying down, then blazing hotter, gradually fusing lighter elements into heavier ones. Until in just one day, its silicon is fused into iron.

And that is the end of the line. The structure of iron atoms prevents them from being fused into a heavier element under those conditions. At this point the star resembles an iron-cored onion, with an outermost shell of hydrogen and nested inner shells of some 20 other elements, including silicon, sulfur, calcium, argon, chlorine, potassium, neon, magne-

sium, aluminum and phosphorus.

But not for long. The instant the remaining silicon in the core is fused into iron, the thermonuclear reactions stop. Without enough radiation pressure to sustain it, the now all-iron core, hidden under the star's outer layers, begins its final, catastrophic collapse. In the incredibly short time of just 1 second, according to University of Arizona Astrophysicist Adam Burrows, the core is compressed to more than the density of an atomic nucleus. "It's as if the earth had suddenly collapsed to the size of New York City," says Burrows. "At this point the rest of the star is oblivious. It doesn't know the core has collapsed and that it's doomed."

Now it is not just the atoms that are touching, as in a white dwarf, but their nuclei. Under the immense pressure, the electrons, no longer able to repel one another, are squeezed into the nuclei, which ordinarily contain just protons and neutrons. In about a thousandth of a second, the negatively charged electrons combine with positively charged protons to form additional neutrons: the process also produces the ethereal neutrinos, which effortlessly zip through the star's outer layers and into space. Under these circumstances, there is a limit to how much the neutrons can be compressed. As gravity tightens its grip further, the neutrons, in what Hans Bethe, Cornell University's Nobel laure-

A Super Stargazer

If Las Vegas made book on which amateur astronomer would be the first to spot the next supernova, the odds-on favorite would have to be Robert Evans, 50, a Uniting Church minister from New South Wales, Australia. True, the skies were cloudy overhead on Feb. 23, and Evans missed the chance to be acclaimed the discoverer of spectacular 1987A. But four days later he was the first to sight the much dimmer, more distant 1987B, the year's second supernova. According to Brian Marsden of the International Astronomical Union, that was only the 18th visual discovery of a supernova by an amateur stargazer in this century. Yet 15 of those stellar explosions have been found by Evans, most of them on a homemade telescope and all since 1981.

By day Evans tends his flock in the rural parish of the Lower Blue Mountains. By night, sometimes all night, he scans the heavens with a telescope set up in his driveway. His education in astronomy began when he was a schoolboy, with pointers from his father, a lab assistant in the botany department at the University of Sydney, and with binoculars borrowed from his uncle. In the late 1950s he began hunting for supernovas with a 5-in. reflecting telescope. In 1967 he built a 10-in. reflector to improve his chances of finding new spots of brightness in distant galaxies. But says Evans, "I didn't have any success." The problem, he recalls, was that he did not have the proper charts or photographs of the galaxies he was looking at. "I couldn't really tell when a new object appeared," he

says, "because there was nothing to compare it with."

In 1980 he got a series of sky charts from a member of the Astronomical Association of Queensland, and things began to happen. He found two supernovas in 1981, four each in 1983 and 1984, one in 1985, three in 1986 and one so far this year. He has compiled this formidable record by spending between 20 and 30 hours a month at his telescope.

Indeed, Evans has so often viewed the hundreds of galaxies he scans each month that he has now become quite familiar with their positions and characteristics. As a result, he explains, "I can look at a lot of galaxies fairly quickly, locate and examine them in perhaps half a minute. Then, if there's anything suspicious, I check the chart. Usually a supernova is fairly obvious." Evans' most scientifically significant supernova find was 1986G, located in a galaxy known as Centaurus A. The supernova was right behind an unusual "bell" of interstellar dust that appears to bisect the galaxy. Professional astronomers have since been analyzing the nature and composition of the belt by determining which wavelengths of light from the supernova are blocked by the dust and which pass through it.

After finding his eleventh supernova, in 1985, Evans retired his aging 10-in. scope. The replacement, a new 16-incher, was given to him by the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization, Australia's national science organization, under a program that donates equipment to top-notch amateurs who are capable of making important contributions to science. Evans remains unaffected by the recognition and acclaim. "It's a humbling experience," he says, "looking at something so awesome."



Evans: supernova superstar

astrophysicist, has called the "moment of maximum scrunch," recoil ferociously.

The resulting shock waves spread outward through the core, enter the star's still unsuspecting outer layers, and hours later reach the surface, spewing the star's laboriously made elements into space in a mammoth explosion. All that is left behind is the neutron core, the strange entity that astronomers call a neutron star.

There is another possible scenario: if a star is a minimum of 30 to 40 times as massive as the sun, its gravitational collapse could be so violent that it may never become a supernova at all. Instead of bouncing back at the instant of maximum scrunch, the core continues its collapse indefinitely, forming a bizarre object of infinitesimal size and nearly infinite density, with a gravitational field so intense that light itself cannot escape—a black hole. In effect, the entire, tremendous mass of the star has gone down a cosmic drain.

These are the theoretical scenarios. And at first 1987A seemed to be following the rules: it jumped from near invisibility to respectable brightness literally overnight, and while its wave-front speed was high, its spectrum revealed the unmistakable hydrogen-bearing signature of a Type II. But when the International Ultraviolet Explorer satellite reported a rapid drop in ultraviolet light, scientists began to wonder. Says Robert Kirshner, of the Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics: "The spectrum we're seeing in the ultraviolet resembles the spectrum of a Type I. That's a puzzle." Admits Texas' Wheeler: "There are some funny features in this supernova."

Another question that troubled some astronomers was why 1987A stopped brightening. To be sure, some previously observed supernovas have leveled off in brightness for a time, then shot up to the expected brilliance. In fact, last week southern hemisphere observatories reported that the supernova's magnitude, which had remained relatively constant for almost two weeks, showed signs of increasing slightly, from 4.5 to 4.25. But even if 1987A stays "subluminous," it will be important because it may point to the existence of a previously unknown class of stellar explosion.

What does it all mean? "There will be as many notions of what's going on as there are astronomers," says Woosley. "It's what you might call organized scientific chaos. When it's all over, we'll have a better idea of what causes a supernova, but the one rule now is that you shouldn't trust the theoreticians. Expect the unexpected."

Still, the theoreticians could crow that in at least one way 1987A had performed according to the script. Minutes after hearing about

the supernova but before they learned of any neutrino data, Astrophysicist Bahcall and two Israeli colleagues began working on a paper predicting the number of supernova neutrinos that should have been recorded by various detectors on earth: their paper was published in last week's *Nature*. If the neutrinos had been recorded—and especially if they arrived before the supernova was seen—it would be a dramatic confirmation of current supernova theory.

Sure enough, a check of the Kamiokande II detector in Japan disclosed that a burst of eleven neutrinos, with the predicted range of energies, arrived in a span of 13 seconds on Feb. 23, about three hours before light from the supernova was

first observed. And data provided by the IMB (Irvine-Michigan-Brookhaven) detector under Lake Erie showed a burst of eight neutrinos in six seconds at the same time as the Japanese reading. Says Physicist Frederick Reines, of the University of California, Irvine: "One observation by one team is not sufficient; it has to be confirmed by an independent group. But together, the results from the IMB detector and the Kamiokande II detector are hard to disbelieve."

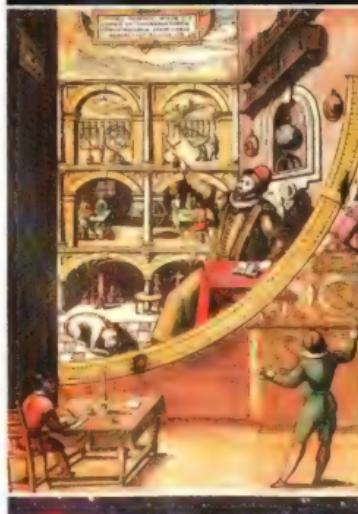
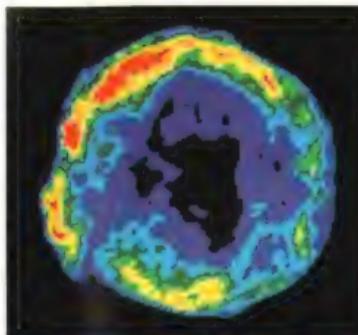
Both the Mont Blanc and Mount Elbrus detectors also picked up neutrino bursts at the crucial time, but scientists are still puzzling over another burst recorded at Mont Blanc some 4½ hours earlier. They will examine the data further this week at a meeting in Wisconsin.

In any case, Bahcall is ecstatic. "I think this is almost surrealistic," he says. "It's hard to believe I'm actually awake." Agrees University of Chicago Astronomer W. David Arnett: "There have been smoking guns, but we've never seen the act committed before."

The neutrino bursts could help pin down theoretical models not only about how stars die but also about how the universe might expire. A debate is raging over how much "dark matter"—stuff invisible to astronomers—exists in the universe. If there is sufficient dark matter, its gravity will be enough to force the universe, still expanding from the Big Bang, to slow, stop and fall together again in a "Big Crunch." If the necessary matter does not exist, the universe will expand forever.

One proposed candidate to provide the needed matter is the neutrino—if it has mass and exists in the universe in such profusion that it could fill the bill. But 1987A may yet pour cold water on that idea: by coming in ahead of the light and in such short bursts, the neutrinos must have been traveling at or nearly at the speed of light. If they moved at the speed of light, according to Einstein, they have no mass. And if they traveled a bit more slowly and have mass, says Bahcall, that mass "is probably so small that the neutrino can't contribute noticeably to the problem." In other words, if the universe eventually crunches, it will almost certainly not be the neutrinos' fault.

Another report in last week's *Nature*, while not dealing with 1987A, provided further insight into Type II supernovas. A group led by Chemist Edward Anders and Physicist Roy Lewis, both of the University of Chicago, revealed that they had discovered an abundance of submicroscopic diamonds in a meteorite that fell in Mexico in 1969. While the impact of a meteor slamming into the earth creates enough pressure to crystallize carbon into dia-



Tycho Brahe studied the 1572 starburst. Above: a radio image of what that supernova left behind.

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Science

monds, the tiny samples found by the Chicago team apparently resulted from an ancient supernova. The evidence: they contained atomic forms of the gas xenon different from the kind found on earth or detected in the sun.

The diamonds, Anders suggests, came from red supergiant stars that threw off their outer coats, forming a gas shell. As the star's shell expanded outward and cooled, the carbon in it condensed and crystallized, forming diamonds. Later, when the star exploded, it created xenon that shot from the star's outer layers and caught up with the diamonds. "It's like the tortoise and hare," says Anders. "The xenon atoms overtake the diamonds and shoot right through them, becoming very securely locked up."

If shock waves from an ancient supernova sparked the creation of the sun and planets, Anders concludes, "it's very likely that the material from which our solar system was formed was contaminated with these diamonds. The diamonds on earth may well be a mixture of those loaded with xenon and those without it."

Still, it was the big diamond in the sky, 1987A, that was getting most of the attention last week. While the supernova shines in southern hemisphere skies, most of the world's astronomers are in the northern half of the world, and they are scrambling to find ways of viewing 1987A directly rather than vicariously through the reports of others. Says Laurence Peterson, of NASA's astrophysics division, host of the brainstorming meeting at Goddard: "Hundreds of scientists are working on ideas." One proposal: temporarily base NASA's Kuiper Airborne Observatory, which is aboard a customized Lockheed C-141 StarLifter, south of the equator. Flying at 40,000 ft., above most of the murk of the atmosphere, the Kuiper can turn its 36-in. infrared telescope on the supernova. It can be equipped with nearly a dozen other instruments that will enable scientists to determine with precision how cool the supernova's envelope is becoming, and how the dust from the blown envelope is condensing.

Another idea: use sounding rockets to boost detection equipment up 100 miles, allowing a five-minute viewing window of the southern skies before falling back to earth. A third: "Everyone who has got an instrument in his closet is digging it out and petitioning NASA for support to go to Australia and fly it in a balloon," says Marvin Leventhal, a physicist with AT&T's Bell Labs. Leventhal and his collaborator Crawford MacCallum, a physicist with the Sandia Corp., already have their balloon, a plastic monster so huge (600 to 700 ft. tall) that its material could be used to cover the Washington Monument.

University of Iowa Radio Astronomer Robert Mutel is spearheading a drive to fly advanced imaging equipment to seven observatories in the southern hemisphere that lack the sophisticated instruments. Mutel already has several offers from groups around the world to lend some of their own equipment. Indeed, his group has already decided to cannibalize its North Liberty Radio Observatory near Iowa City. Says Mutel: "I'm trying to get the NSF [National Science Foundation] to see if it can free up some money. It will be

intense magnetic fields generating precisely spaced electromagnetic pulses that can be picked up by radio telescopes. Some 440 pulsars have been discovered so far, all of them thought to be remnants of Type II supernovas. The youngest found to date sits right at the center of the Crab nebula, site of the great supernova of 1054.

How long it takes for a pulsar to develop is one puzzle 1987A may help answer. In addition, says Taylor, scientists would like to learn what kind of supernovas make pulsars. "We have a good idea that stars between eight and 15 times the mass of the sun are in the right range," he says, "but that is still somewhat speculative."

Although many scientists now lean toward the theory that dinosaurs were wiped out 65 million years ago by the impact on earth of a large comet or asteroid, some experts until recently were suggesting that radiation from a nearby supernova might have been the culprit. No evidence exists that a supernova has ever flared close enough to earth to destroy life. Still, if one should go off within ten to 20 light-years away, says Radio Astronomer Gerrit Verschuur, "we would have a problem. Everything would be destroyed by blasts of X rays, ultraviolet radiation and cosmic rays." Radiation from an expanding supernova even as distant as 50 light-years, he says, would pack a tremendous wallop, probably destroying the atmosphere's protective ozone layer and causing harmful mutations. Such a supernova could alter the course of biological evolution, perhaps wiping out entire species.

As astronomers survey the nearest stars, however, they see no apparent candidates for an imminent supernova. One favorite in the supernova category is Betelgeuse, the red supergiant clearly visible at the shoulder of the constellation Orion, the Hunter. That monster star is 650 light-years away, out of harm's way, but should provide a spectacular show when and if it expires.

Indeed, although the experts consider it unlikely, Betelgeuse may have already died of gravitational collapse—around the time of Columbus, for example, or Galileo or Napoleon. If so, the light generated by that explosion is on its way, well along on its 650-year journey to earth, bearing evidence that the red supergiant has been consumed in a cosmic catastrophe. But for now, astronomers aiming their sophisticated instruments into the night sky would be no more aware of the event than their primitive ancestors were of 1987A, when, 170,000 years ago, they stared fleetingly at the Large Magellanic Cloud.

—By Michael D. Lemonick. Reported by J. Madeleine Nash/Chicago, Gavin Scott/Santiago and Dick Thompson/Washington



When will another supernova glow? On average, starbursts visible to the naked eye happen only four times a millennium.

interesting to see how quickly a big bureaucracy can react."

Some astronomers are in less of a hurry, figuring that the best is yet to come. Says Woosley: "Once the photosphere [the supernova's luminous surface layer] is gone, that's when it gets interesting." When that shell thins out, months or years from now, astronomers will be able to look inside and "see" the newly born, rapidly spinning neutron star, but with a radio telescope rather than the optical kind.

The problem, explains Princeton Physics Professor Joseph Taylor, is not that a neutron star emits no light but that it is only ten miles across. "If you were close enough," he says, "you'd see a very bright light. But over interstellar distances, it wouldn't be visible." The solution is suggested by the name astronomers gave to known neutron stars: pulsars. The spinning neutron stars have

Gimme Shelter

A wider opening for refugees

Driven from every other corner of the earth," Samuel Adams intoned in 1776, those seeking freedom "direct their course to this happy country as their last asylum." From the beginnings of American history, no would-be immigrants have had greater claim on the national conscience than those seeking shelter from repression. But how to distinguish legitimate refugees from the mass of aliens who come to the U.S. merely in search of work or a change of life? The U.S. Supreme Court gave an answer last week that should smooth the path, at least slightly, for thousands fleeing death squads, invading armies and one-party states.

The court was looking only at the relatively small number of aliens who ask for asylum annually: applications recently have averaged 20,000 a year. Three years ago, it ruled that portions of the Immigration and Nationality Act permit the Government to deport certain aliens who fail to show a "clear probability" that they will be persecuted in their home country. Under another section of that law, many such aliens have been allowed to seek from the Justice Department a discretionary grant of asylum. But this alternative was of little practical benefit because in order to be eligible, they were often required by the Immigration and Naturalization Service to meet the same difficult test of clear probability. The evidence was not often at hand. "Refugees don't come with notes signed by death squads," says Immigration Lawyer Kip Steinberg.

In its decision last week, the court ruled 6 to 3 that the INS standard was more onerous than Congress had intended when it drafted the law. Justice John Paul Stevens, for the majority, said that to be considered eligible for asylum, refugees need only prove a "well-founded fear" of persecution. In a strongly worded concurrence, Justice Harry Blackmun accused the INS of "seemingly purposeful blindness" in its refusal to see that Congress had intended a less stringent standard of proof.

The case before the court involved Lurina Cardoza-Fonseca, 38, a Nicaraguan who now lives in Nevada. Cardoza-Fonseca unsuccessfully claimed before the INS that if forced to return, she would face torture because her brother is a former Sandinista who was imprisoned and tortured by his one-time comrades before he escaped to the U.S. Justice Stevens upheld a lower-court ruling that the INS must reconsider her case using the more lenient standard. In a dissent joined by Chief Justice William Rehnquist and Byron White, Lewis Powell maintained it was reasonable for the INS to find no practical distinction between a "clear probability" and "well-founded fear."

Most experts believe the new ruling



Aliens waiting in upstate New York

means at least that INS officials must now give more weight to subjective evidence, including personal testimony about fear and harassment. But the final decision is still within the discretion of the Justice Department. Many immigration lawyers complain that its practices have been not only legally incorrect but politically biased. They charge that refugees from Communism or the Ayatollah Khomeini have a far better chance of gaining asylum than those fleeing governments that the U.S. counts as friends.

According to one study of INS figures, only 2.6% of applicants from El Salvador and less than 1% from Guatemala win approval. Many of them have been trekking on to Canada, which has been more receptive to refugees from the two countries. But Ottawa, daunted by the flood of would-be immigrants, has recently closed the door a bit, requiring refugee applicants to remain outside the country during the four to six weeks it can take until their applications are considered. Result: hundreds of Central Americans are languishing in churches and community buildings on the U.S. side of the border in Michigan and New York.

While the situation is serious for Central Americans, refugees from everywhere have found that much has changed in the U.S. since 1776. In the twelve years that the INS has kept records, the majority of asylum applications have been turned down. Even Afghans running from Soviet invaders were granted asylum only about 38% of the time. Cousins Aman and Wahid Ullah, both 23, have spent 16 months in INS detention centers since reaching the U.S. from Afghanistan. "We're desperate," says Aman. "We came here hoping to be free."

—By Richard Lacayo

Reported by Anne Constable/Washington, and Peter Steiger/Ottawa

Triple Reverse

Investigative reporting upheld

When Washington Post Reporter Patrick Tyler was researching a 1979 story charging that then Mobil Corp. President William Tavoulareas had used his corporate post to "set up" his son Peter in business, Mobil executives refused to be interviewed. After the article was published, however, Tavoulareas went to the Post to confront Tyler's boss, Executive Editor Benjamin Bradlee. What followed was a libel suit that has cost the Post alone more than \$1 million in legal fees and seen as many turns of fortune as did Pip in *Great Expectations*. Last week the Post won what legal experts said may be the final victory.

In July 1982 a federal jury in Washington found that the Post had defamed the elder Tavoulareas, though not his son, and awarded \$2 million in damages. But Federal Judge Oliver Gasch threw out the verdict. While critical of the Post—"The article falls far short of being a model of fair, unbiased journalism"—Gasch ruled that Tavoulareas had been unable to meet the exacting standard of proof required of public figures: "actual malice," meaning that those who published the article had knowledge of its inaccuracy or recklessly disregarded the truth.

In the next round, a three-judge U.S. appeals-court panel reinstated the jury verdict, using reasoning that alarmed journalists everywhere. The very facts of a reporter's "sophisticated muckraking" and a publication's penchant for "hard-hitting investigative stories" could be taken as evidence of actual malice, wrote Senior Judge George MacKinnon in an opinion joined by Antonin Scalia, now a U.S. Supreme Court Justice. First Amendment lawyers said the ruling would penalize the press for performing its most crucial duties.

Last week the full appellate court agreed and reversed the reversal of the reversal by a resounding 7-to-1 vote, with only MacKinnon in dissent. Said the majority: "We agree with the Post that the First Amendment prohibits penalizing the press for encouraging its reporters to expose wrongdoing." In a further blow, the judges not only found the Post story essentially accurate but used language that was, if anything, even more forceful than that in the original article. Said the opinion: "The record abounds with uncontradicted evidence of nepotism in favor of Peter. . . . No reasonable jury could, on this record, find that the 'set up' allegation was false."



Tavoulareas



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Press

Hard Times at a "Can-Do" Network

After new layoffs, a debate rages over the future of CBS News

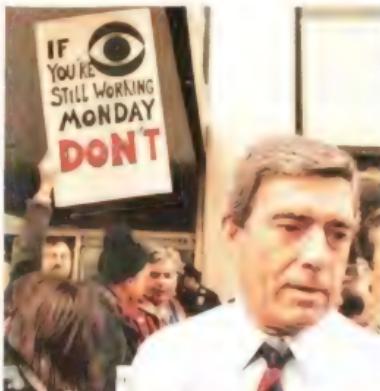
The picket line outside the CBS Broadcast Center in Manhattan got an injection of star power last Monday morning. A band of network heavyweights, including Dan Rather, Ed Bradley and Diane Sawyer, showed up to support striking members of the Writers Guild, who walked out two weeks ago over issues of job security. The featured speaker, however, was a less well known correspondent named Ike Pappas, whose current celebrity derives from the fact that he has just lost his job. "I feel very poorly for the people who have to get up every morning and pretend to work for CBS News," he told the crowd. "It's not CBS News anymore."

The debate swirling through the corridors of CBS and the rest of the broadcast world last week was whether Pappas was right. In the most bruising round of layoffs yet at CBS's beleaguered news division, some 230 of 1,200 staffers had been let go, part of an effort to slash \$30 million from the news operation's annual budget of nearly \$300 million. Among the casualties: three bureaus (Warsaw, Bangkok and Seattle), 14 on-air correspondents (including Law Specialist Fred Graham and Economics Contributor Jane Bryant Quinn) and scores of other employees, ranging from low-paid support staff to veteran producers.

The "Slaughter on 57th Street," as some started calling it, raised an impassioned outcry. New CBS Chief Executive Officer Laurence Tisch roiled staff emotions further when he tried to shift responsibility for the layoffs to News President Howard Stringer. "I never said to Howard, 'We have to cut the budget at the news division,'" he told the *New York Times*. Stringer was aghast. After a two-hour meeting between the two, Tisch, who had suggested cutting the news budget by up to \$60 million, issued a memo admitting that Stringer proposed the cuts only as an alternative to bringing in an outside consultant to do the job.

The cutbacks raised other hackles, both inside and outside the network. Word leaked out last week that a dozen of CBS's high-priced stars, including Rather and Sawyer, had offered to take substantial pay decreases if that would save jobs. But the company refused, arguing that positions had to be eliminated for long-term efficiency. Rather wrote an op-ed page article for the *Times*, headlined FROM MURKOW TO MEDIOCRITY*, in which he condemned the layoffs and worried about a

"product that may inevitably fall short of the quality and vision it once possessed." Two Democratic members of a House subcommittee on telecommunications, Dennis Eckart of Ohio and John Bryant of Texas, called for hearings on whether the cost cutting at CBS and other networks is in the public interest.



Rather at the picket line: rallying the troops

Just trimming fat or damaging the ability to cover stories?

Many CBS insiders concede that inefficiencies do exist. The network's news budget has grown almost 250% in just nine years, and even allowing for inflation it is hard to argue that the quality and amount of coverage have proportionately increased. With limited broadcast time available, many CBS correspondents are underutilized. Some staffers noted wryly that Pappas got more airtime after being fired than before. "Who is really going to miss the Seattle bureau?" asks a veteran CBS correspondent. Stories in that area will now be handled by the Los Angeles bureau. Other bureaus will similarly pick up the slack elsewhere. "What we've done," says Stringer, "is redesign CBS News to move it into the 1990s, to make it more efficient."

CBS is left with about 80 reporters and correspondents after the cuts, roughly the same number as at NBC and ABC. Still, the reduction of manpower in the field "hurts us badly," says *Evening News*

Executive Producer Tom Bettag. "What you're going to lose is a reporter on the scene when you wish you had a reporter on the scene. You cannot have less original reporting and not have the quality suffer." CBS, like both of its belt-tightening network rivals, will probably depend more often on footage from other sources, such as local stations and syndicated services. Indeed, Rather has already begun narrating more stories on the CBS *Evening News* stories that might earlier have been handled by a reporter in the field.

The damage may be worse on other programs, since the *Evening News* and the network's second showcase, *60 Minutes*, were relatively lightly hit. The CBS *Morning News*, for instance, lost 28 of about 75 positions; as a result, viewers will probably see less original material and more warmed-over stories from the previous night's news. Other cuts (29 of 71 positions were eliminated in the archive department, for example) will have a subtler impact. "When you have diminished resources for research and for library footage, you go with a less polished production editorially," says one producer. "That may not be evident to the viewer. But you know it."

The biggest problem CBS faces is the now widespread internal belief that the news organization's best days are behind it. "The people who are left seem more depressed than the ones who were laid off," says Bonnie Arnold, a Washington producer who was let go. Some big names have been working to rekindle confidence. *60 Minutes* Executive Producer Don Hewitt and Correspondent Mike Wallace met with Tisch and urged him to spell out his plans more specifically, but indicated they were reassured that he still backs a strong news operation. Walter Cronkite, the former anchorman who now sits on the CBS board of directors, reportedly had a shouting confrontation with Tisch, but emerged from a board meeting last week with a measured endorsement of management. "I think the necessity of getting that fat out of the budget is definitely there," he said. "I only quarrel over the tactics."

His successor, Rather, even felt compelled last week to make an on-air attempt to rally the troops, signing off Wednesday's newscast on behalf of "your can-do CBS *Evening News*." The question that remains, of course, is whether CBS News can do with less. —By Richard Zoglin. Reported by Mary Cronin and Naushad S. Mehta/New York



CEO Tisch



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Sexes

When the Date Turns into Rape

Too often the attacker is the clean-cut acquaintance next door

Susan, now 22 and a college senior, was raped almost three years ago on a first date. She met the man in a cafeteria at summer school and went to his dorm that evening to watch television news and get acquainted. After 45 minutes of chitchat about national affairs, he began pawing and kissing her, ignoring her pleas to stop. "You really don't want me to stop," he said, and forced her to have sex.

The attack was an all too familiar incident of date rape. Like many victims, Susan was unwary and alone too soon with a man she barely knew. It took her 18 months to confront the reality that she had, in fact, been raped. Now she is more aware, and her thoughts run to the dangers of dates between women raised to be politely passive and aggressive males who sometimes assume that no means yes. "Women are taught to be nice, to be attractive and appealing," she says, "but we should also teach women to speak up more and teach men to listen more."

Date rape, according to some researchers, is a major social problem, so far studied mostly through surveys of college students. In a three-year study of 6,200 male and female students on 32 campuses, Kent State Psychologist Mary Koss found that 15% of all women reported experiences that met legal definitions of forcible rape. More than half those cases were date rapes. Andrea Parrot, a lecturer at Cornell University, estimates that 20% of college women at two campuses she surveyed had been forced into sex during their college years or before, and most of these incidents were date rapes. The number of forcible rapes reported each year—87,340 in 1985—is believed to be about half the total actually committed. Experts say the victim knows the assailant in at least a third of all rapes. Says Koss: "You're a lot more likely to be raped by a date than by a stranger jumping out of the bushes."

Acquaintance rapes are not always reported because many victims do not define themselves as having been raped. Koss found that 73% of the women forced into sex avoided using the term rape to describe their experiences, and only 5% reported the incident to police. Psychologist Barry Burkhardt of Auburn University explains, "Because it is such a paralyzing event, so outside the realm of normal events, they literally don't know what happened to them."

DATE rape sometimes occurs after the victim has taken drugs or one drink too many. Whether under the influence or not, victims frequently classify the rape as a hazy, regrettable experience that was somehow their own fault. "And because often they don't even see it as rape, they



PI KAPPA PHI POSTER: NO MEANS NO

fail to seek support professionally," says Burkhardt. "They are left without a way of understanding it, so they bury it, feeling guilty and ashamed."

The use of drugs or alcohol is likely to cloud the issue of consent in a criminal trial. Says Linda Fairstein, a Manhattan district attorney in charge of the sex-crimes unit: "The defense will say she gave consent and just doesn't remember."

In a widely publicized incident last fall, a female student at the University of California, Berkeley, filed a complaint saying she had been gang-raped by a football player she once dated and three of his teammates. The case was dropped partly because the victim had been drinking. Said Detective Greg Folster of the University of California, Berkeley, police: "I have no doubt that this was a sexual assault, but I don't think the judicial system is quite ready for acquaintance rape."

Researchers compiling profiles of both victims and victimizers find that date rapists are more sexually active than other males and more likely to have a history of antisocial behavior. The rapists and their victims are usually in the 15-to-24 age group. The women are often alone in a new environment, like a college campus. Compared with other women, the victims generally suffer from lower self-esteem and are not very good at asserting themselves. One woman, raped by her date at a fraternity party, said she decided not to scream for help because she did not want to embarrass the rapist.

One theory of date rape is that men and women tend to misread each other's signals, particularly a soft-spoken no that many males assume means yes or at least maybe. Says one student at Pepperdine University in Malibu, Calif.: "There are different kinds of nos. 'Nooo...'"

"...is one thing. 'NO, get your filthy hands off me!' is another." Some feminists argue that the U.S. has a "rape culture" in which males are encouraged to treat women aggressively and women are trained to submit. Some surveys back up that dark ideological view of male sexual behavior. In Koss's study, one male in 13 admitted attempting or committing at least one rape. In a 1980 report at UCLA, half the male students admitted that there could be some circumstances under which they would force a woman to commit a sexual act if they were sure of not being punished.

Many campuses and rape crisis centers sponsor speeches and programs aimed at preventing date rape. At Cornell, student actors play the roles of date rapists and victims, then stay in character to restage the scenes along new lines suggested by members of the audience. An increasing number of college campuses now have anti-rape programs. However, as Bernice Sandler of the Association of American Colleges points out, "many schools are still unsure about whether date rape is rape or not. Schools just don't know what to do about it." But times may be changing. Pi Kappa Phi fraternities around the country now put up posters of *The Rape of the Sabine Women* saying TODAY'S GREEKS CALL IT DATE RAPE. Underneath in smaller type it says AGAINST HER WILL IS AGAINST THE LAW. By John Leo. Reported by Charles Peltz/ San Francisco

The Wages Of Sin

Ill-gotten or not, the gains of the Mayflower Madam are hers to keep. At issue was some \$250,000 in book and TV-movie money paid to Sydney Biddle Barrows for her story as owner of a high-priced Manhattan escort service. Under a New York law passed to keep the "Son of Sam" killer from cashing in on his deeds, criminals cannot profit from their biographies. Barrows, who pleaded guilty in 1985 to promoting prostitution, argued that the law should not apply to timeless crimes like her own. Last week a New York court agreed. "Yea!" said Barrows. "I need the money."

Sport

Springing for the Check

How hard was Forbes Field? Forbes Field was so hard . . .

"It starts over every spring with or without you; maybe that's the trick of it," said the old catcher Paul Richards, who died last May.

At least in spring training, baseball is neither a game of inches nor a business measured in dollars and cents, though things are pretty well calculated. In Mesa, Ariz., where the California Angels do their exercising (and exorcising), home runs are gauged by how many rows deep they soar into an adjacent orange grove. At Tampa, Cincinnati Manager Pete Rose can tell you exactly how hard Pittsburgh's Forbes Field used to be in the old days. Last spring he said it was as hard as Chinese arithmetic.

"It was as hard as \$100 worth of Jaw-breakers," Rose says now, proving he is a Hall of Famer. "If you got a good reliever one year," Charlie Dressen used to advise newer managers, "get a different one the



New Cub Dawson: signing for \$350,000 less than he might have

next." Only Rose would understand that this applies to similes as well. Approaching 46, the Reds' player-manager had to leave himself off the winter roster in order to protect a younger man, like Pitcher Norm Charlton, whose finger Rose broke with the first fungo of the season.

Secure in the knowledge that he can go 11 for 157 without falling below a .300 average for his 25 campaigns, Rose is entitled to activate himself any time after May 15. This gives him something in common with baseball's new holdouts, star free agents who have gone suspiciously begging in the marketplace and are enjoined even from reconciling with their old clubs until May 1. "I used to have to hold out every year," reminisces Rose. After winning batting titles in 1968 and '69, he saw his average plummet to .316 and had to wrangle to get a \$2,500 raise. "But I caught up. Remember how I used to say I wanted to be the first \$100,000 singles hitter? This year I paid over \$100,000 in state taxes."

This year the owners are catching up. Sixteen of 26 arbitration verdicts have gone the way of management, intent on driving down last season's average wage of \$412,520. The arbitrator lopped \$20,000 off Dodger Pitcher Orel Hershiser's \$1 million salary. As for free agents, museum pieces have lost their charm. Reds Shortstop Davey Concepcion, uncoveted elsewhere, had his

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\$900,000 rate cut to \$350,000. Reggie Jackson was obliged to come down almost that much to rejoin his old A's.

For those liberated few who thought they were in the prime of life, the picture is murkier. Once, Yankees Owner George Steinbrenner considered it a two-sided delight to lure away an American League East pitcher like Boston's Luis Tiant. Suddenly he has no interest in Detroit's Jack Morris, the decade's winningest pitcher. Montreal Outfielder Tim Raines, the National League batting champion (.334), must wonder whether he has bad breath. So frustrated was Teammate Andre Dawson, he signed a blank contract with the Cubs and is now working for \$350,000 less than the Expos offered. World Series Hero Ray Knight cut a similarly shrewd deal while transferring from the champion Mets to the last-place Orioles.

The union charges collusion, but the thought of these 26 owners doing anything in complete concert seems as preposterous as Ron Guidry lingering on his tractor over a matter of \$50,000 while Steinbrenner replaces him with a pitcher (Tommy John, 46) three years older than Hall of Famer-elect Catfish Hunter. Detroit Manager Sparky Anderson, who ultimately retrieved Morris but lost Catcher Lance Parrish to Philadelphia, is typically philosophical. "Babe Ruth is buried in Baltimore [Hawthorne, N.Y.] to be irreversibly accurate," he says, splitting, "and the game goes on."



Guidry waiting for an offer in Lafayette, La.

With a sigh that carries the fences at Lakeland, Anderson says, "Every player who comes to a new town tells how happy he is. I wish just one guy would stand up and say, 'I hate your town. I hate your team. I hate your manager. I'm here for one reason: you shelled out the most.'"

Perhaps the least cynical Tiger is Steve Searcy, a stylish left-hander (wearing a CAN'T MISS tag). Searcy had a small stake in the free-agent war. He wants Parrish's number: 13.

"Sure it's unlucky—for everyone else," says Searcy, sounding just like a rookie in his first major-league camp. For now, his number is 60. "I feel like an offensive lineman." Three years ago Boston's Roger Clemens was in Searcy's position precisely, a wide-eyed college star on the cusp of the big leagues, anticipating a few Triple-A weeks in the light early season before a fifth starter is summoned. Searcy admits, "The first time I faced Darrell Evans in an intrasquad game, I just couldn't pitch to him. But these guys aren't gods. I can get them out. I'll do anything to prove it."

Now Clemens, last year's Dwight Gooden, is the Cy Young winner and MVP of the American League. One season short of arbitration eligibility, he is the sorest of all the unhappy players automatically renewed by their clubs (in his case for \$450,000, up \$110,000). Two weeks ago Clemens stomped out. Over in the Mets' camp, this year's Gooden is trimmer and happier and thinks his dip last season from 24-4 to 17-6 may be traced in part to a mouthful of abscessed teeth. "Some games, I took a lot of pain pills." Missing his gold front tooth for the first time as a pro, Gooden went out last week with a perfect smile and gave up nine runs in the first inning.

—By Tom Callahan

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People

There is nothing funny about being slapped with a \$30 million lawsuit, unless of course you happen to have **Eddie Murphy's** sense of humor. The actor-comedian laughed out loud



Murphy's law: Eddie at court

last week as he listened to testimony in a lawsuit against him in Mineola, N.Y. **King Broder**, who claims to have signed the then 19-year-old to a personal-management contract in 1980, says the terms of agreement entitle him to 25% of the estimated \$120 million Murphy earned between 1980 and 1986. Murphy's attorney maintains Broder did nothing for the performer and that the contract was never valid because Broder was unlicensed. Nattily dressed in a dark suit, Murphy guffawed when Broder claimed to have written some of his early routines and to have taught him how to dress. Outside court the comic joked to reporters that Broder was "one of those guys in the movies who has a big cigar and says, 'I'm going to make a big star out of you, kid.' " It remains to be seen, of course, whether Murphy will still be joking after the jury delivers its verdict.

Try this board-busting concept. Our hero is four years old when his

father agrees to let him start studying the ancient Korean martial art of Tae Kwon Do. Under the sage tutelage of a martial-arts master, he quickly progresses and is soon splitting concrete blocks with his bare hands. Finally, at all of age seven, the 4-ft. 1-in., 60-lb. boy reaches his ultimate goal, becoming the youngest officially recognized black belt in America. A script for *Karate Kid III?* Possibly. But it is also the real-life story of **Westley Ciaramella**. Last week the native of Staten Island, N.Y., was presented with his belt by the coach of the U.S. Tae Kwon Do Olympic team. Ciaramella is pretty good at hitting the books too. "I got the best report card in the class," says Wes proudly. And fearlessly. "Nobody bothers me," he confides. "If somebody tries to hurt my parents, I can defend them." Otherwise, the lad's lethal talent is strictly for exhibition. Says he: "I wouldn't use it, because I might hurt someone." Spoken like a true warrior, Grasshopper.

The broad, beatific grin could belong only to **Desmond Tutu**, the Archbishop of Cape Town. And there, beaming



Little big man: Ciaramella with his master



Tutu to Tutu: the Archbishop waxes enthusiastic about his alter ego

right back, was . . . hey, wait a minute! The disorienting double take came about last week while Tutu was in London viewing his wax effigy before it joined the ever growing gallery of famous souls at Madame Tussaud's wax museum. "It is a very good likeness, but slightly more handsome than the original," observed the self-effacing clergymen. Though the civil rights crusader played the event mostly for laughs, it was not without social and political significance. He is the first South African to appear at Tussaud's since the wax likeness of former Prime Minister and

White Supremacist **Jan Smuts** was mothballed in 1956. Calling his statue a "wonderful honor for all of the victims of apartheid," the Archbishop archly suggested that two Tutus are too many. "I don't know how the world is going to take the strain," he said. "One of us is enough."

Back in 1955 a young Iowa-born housewife and mother named **Epddie Lederer** won a competition to become the advice columnist of the Chicago *Sun-Times*. She beat out 28 other contestants. When **Ann Landers** decided a month ago to join the rival *Tribune* (circ. 745,000), the *Sun-Times* (circ. 613,000) decided to hold another contest. The deadline is this week, and so far the paper has heard from 3,000 applicants, including a former Play-

boy bunny, a man who plays the flute and someone who appeared at the office in a bear costume. When Landers, whose syndicated column has 85 million readers worldwide, starts her new job this week, she will be sharing the same



Landers: tough act to follow

page with her Beverly Hills-based twin sister and main competitor, **Abigail** ("Dear Abby") **Van Buren**. Money was not behind the move; she concedes she is making more but is sure the *Sun-Times* would have matched it. "I felt it was time to go," explains Landers. Her advice to her successor at the old stand: "Whoever gets the job, I hope they have an extra set of glands. They'll need it. I don't know how many people are out there who can work ten-to-twelve-hour days and turn out 365 columns a year."

—By Guy D. Garcia

Show Business

Reclaiming a Vital Heritage

A New Jersey warehouse yields a trove of old-master tunes

It was a grand night for singing. Bob Dylan wrapped his angry adenoids around the Gershwin ballad *Soon*; and Madeline Kahn, Maureen McGovern and Julia Migenes ganged up gorgeously on *Someone to Watch Over Me*. Last week's gala tribute to George and Ira at the Brooklyn Academy of Music provided a pretty fine evening of dance as well, with Mikhail Baryshnikov, Harold Nicholas, Gregg Burge and the Mutt-and-Jeff tandem of Tommy Tune and Drew Barrymore finding new steps for some unforgettable old melodies. Now would anyone think of shooting the piano players Michael Tilson Thomas opened with *Rhapsody in Blue*. Later Leonard Bernstein brought a furious solemnity to Gershwin's *Prelude in C-sharp Minor*. And at the climax Movie Maestro Johnny Green unearthed half-century-old arrangements of Gershwin songs and made them swing like new.

Scholars and lovers of the American musical theater had other reasons to cheer when Soprano Erie Mills sang *Naughty Baby*, from the 1924 Gershwin show *Primrose*. The number, with its infectious syncopation and George's own nimble charts, was receiving its first public performance in six decades. It is part of a trove of music by Broadway's old masters—Jerome Kern, Richard Rodgers, Victor Herbert, Cole Porter—discovered in 80 boxes in a Secaucus, N.J., warehouse. Now, after five years of archaeology, Historian Robert Kimball has prepared a 178-page inventory of some of the contents for the first volume of the *Cata-*



Mills sings *Naughty Baby* at Gershwin gala
"Like finding Leonardo's sketchbooks."

log of the American Musical, to be published in September by the National Institute for Music Theater (NIMT). "We have reclaimed a vital part of our musical heritage," Kimball boasts. "These works will now be heard in their original form."

It might be the pop-music equivalent of the excavation of ancient Troy, but the dig was just five miles from Broadway. In 1979 Henry Cohen, an executive for

Warner Bros. Music, which owns publication rights to the songs, made a rough survey of the Secaucus material. "He didn't know its significance," Kimball recalls. "but he sent the list around. In 1982 he showed it to Donald Rose, a Gershwin scholar. Donald thought it was awesome and called me. In the first two boxes we found Gershwin's *Pardon My English*, which was presumed lost, and Cole Porter's *Gay Divorcee*. Later I opened an envelope with Porter's name on it and found songs by him I didn't even know had existed." Further burrowing yielded the Holy Grail of show-tune scholarship: more than 175 unpublished Kern songs "in sheer numbers and quality it's extraordinary," says H. Wiley Hitchcock, a Brooklyn College musicologist. "It's like finding Leonardo's original sketchbooks."

Until the 1940s, few Broadway scores were published in their entirety, and few composers paid much attention to posterity. "These people were writing for a vibrant commercial theater," notes John Ludwig of NIMT. "Their eyes were on the next hit." Today sharp eyes are on the past. Scholars have already plundered the Secaucus find for spirited revivals of Porter's *Gay Divorcee*, Gershwin's *Strike Up the Band* and Kern's early *Princess Theatre* musicals. This summer Connecticut's Goodspeed Opera House, which in 1984 restored Kern's *Leave It to Jane*, will unveil a Secaucus-enhanced edition of Gershwin's *Lady, Be Good!* With the Broadway musical on the British dole and with revivals like *42nd Street* reminding theatergoers of better days and more hummable tunes, the ghost of Broadway past is ready to come home in triumph. Now, wouldn't that be something to sing about?

—By Richard Corliss. Reported by Linda Williams/N.Y.

Milestones

CHARGED. **Boy George**, 25, flamboyant lead singer of the British pop group Culture Club (*Do You Really Want to Hurt Me*, *Karma Chameleon*) with marijuana possession, in London. Last year the star was fined \$400 on a heroin charge.

DIED. **Allan Philip Jaffe**, 51, fervent jazz impresario who gave up a career in business in 1961 to salvage veteran New Orleans musicians from obscurity, presenting them in nightly concerts in the city's Preservation Hall, which he transformed into an international mecca of concert. In Metairie, La. Jaffe once said, "The old musicians appeared to me as folk heroes. It was like a chance to be part of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*."

DIED. **Richard Levinson**, 52, prolific television writer who, together with his partner and junior high school classmate William Link, created some of the more

memorable TV series of the past two decades, including *Murder She Wrote*, *Colombo* and *Mannix*; of a heart attack, in Los Angeles.

DIED. **Arthur D'Arcy** ("Bobby") **Locke**, 69, dapper South African golfing master who won more than 100 tournaments from 1935 to 1957, including eleven in the U.S. and four British Opens; of meningitis; in Johannesburg. Locke formulated one major tenet of professional golf: "You drive for show but putt for dough."

DIED. **Wayne Woodrow** ("Woody") **Hayes**, 74, fiery-tempered football coach for Ohio State University whose career of 205 victories in 28 seasons, including two years without a single defeat, was marred by physical attacks on players, referees, sportswriters and television cameramen, and ended in 1978 after he took a swipe on national TV at a Clemson University nose

guard whose interception spoiled O.S.U.'s chances of winning the Gator Bowl; of an apparent heart attack, in Upper Arlington, Ohio. Summing up his belief in the rewards of hard-driving tenacity, Hayes said, "I never saw a football player make a tackle with a smile on his face."

DIED. **Robert Truscott Elson**, 80, correspondent, editor and executive at Time Inc. from 1943 to 1969 whose first two volumes (1923-41 and 1941-60) of the company's official history, *TIME Inc. The Intimate History of a Publishing Enterprise*, won praise as honest and witty portrayals of the brash beginnings and spirited middle years of a classic American enterprise; in Southampton, N.Y. Elson served as TIME bureau chief in Washington and London, chief of TIME's domestic correspondents, assistant executive editor at *FORTUNE* and deputy managing editor and later general manager at LIFE.

Books

Onlookers at a Revolution

PERSIAN NIGHTS by Diane Johnson; Knopf; 352 pages; \$17.95

At least as far back as Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley*, novelists have been interested in setting imaginary characters loose against a background of authentic tumultuous events. Small wonder. History is, after all, drama ready-made, an endless pageant playing at all hours in the public domain. Writers who elect to fuse their private inventions with the collective memory of an actual past can create electrifying effects. Witness the towering achievements of *War and Peace* or the enduring popular appeal of *Gone With the Wind*. The formula has its pitfalls, of course, in the hands of the inept cardboard people posing stiffly in front of papier-mâché reconstructions. Even so, fiction that dovetails with fact remains alluring to authors and readers alike.

Persian Nights shows why. Author Diane Johnson's sixth novel transports a handful of Americans into Iran during the summer of 1978. These remarkably ordinary visitors have no way of knowing they have jetted into a maelstrom, a seething revolution that will soon topple the Shah, rearrange the balances of power and terror in the Middle East and seriously frazzle two successive American presidencies. But in hindsight from 1987, when all of this is known, anyone who was in Iran then, even only in make-believe, can be made to seem interesting.

Johnson's heroine is Chloe Fowler; she and Jeffrey, her husband of twelve years and a renowned thoracic surgeon, take off for a two-month visit to a medical school and hospital in Shiraz, where he will serve as a consultant and she will pursue a brief study of Sassanian pottery. Awaiting a connecting flight in London, Jeffrey learns of an emergency in his medical practice and decides to return to San Francisco. He urges Chloe to go on ahead without him; Sara and Max, their two small children, will be fine with the plans already made for their care back home, and Jeffrey will join her in Iran as soon as he can. Chloe agrees reluctantly but with a little thrill as well. She knows that another American visitor scheduled to appear in Shiraz is Dr. Hugh Monroe, with whom she has tentatively begun a love affair.

When Chloe arrives, odd women out, Western and husbandless in the tight society of Iranian and

American couples at the medical dormitories, she finds that Hugh is unaccountably missing. She takes pleasure in her disappointment: "With Hugh not there she could pay in advance for anticipated pleasures, pay by uncertainty, solitude, and serious study, in a land hostile to women, far from her children, in an ugly room. What destiny could then be bequeath her just a little fling?" Such a question, in the context of Iran, turns out to be poignantly beside the point.

Chloe and Hugh do eventually meet and make love, but this romantic moment quickly pales beside other, pressing concerns. The hospital administrator assumes that Chloe is a spy. A weekend

jaunt to a nearby cave yields a dying man and then, in short order, a corpse for which none of the local authorities will accept responsibility. Chloe begins to suspect Hugh of working for the CIA, and numerous new acquaintances of being informers for SAVAK, the Shah's secret police. She rashly hands over her passport to an Iranian woman who wants to break out of her arranged marriage to an older man, thus giving the young wife a chance to flee the country without her husband's knowledge or approval. Jeffrey writes from San Francisco, saying he has fallen in love with another woman and wants a divorce. When Chloe and a contingent of friends from the hospital pay a visit to the ancient city of Persepolis, they are treated to a night of terror as armed bands struggle mysteriously in the darkness. Assembling the next morning, the tourists discover that one of their number, an Iranian doctor, has been shot and killed. As they get ready to leave, Chloe has an insight: "Great dramas, your perspective on life, your life altered for all time and at the end you have to get into a car and drive home."

This tension between the broad sweep of history and the minutiae perceived by individuals caught in its rush keeps *Persian Nights* holding steady, well above the level of conventional romance. In lesser hands, the novel could easily have been called something like *A Doctor's Wayward Wife in Iran*, and been far more marketable in the bargain. But Johnson, 52, an English professor at the University of California, Berkeley, and a collaborator with Stanley Kubrick on the screenplay of *The Shining*, has found a middle ground between sensationalism and high seriousness. Chloe Fowler's good intentions provide a fascinating vantage point for the clash of irreconcilable cultures. She comes, unprepared, to a strange place, meaning no harm, believing that "life underneath is everywhere similar" and that "the Iranians are like us."

She is wrong, and she is often portrayed as preposterously silly and stupid. In creating such a selfish, flawed heroine, Johnson took a calculated risk: readers might not be able to see themselves and their prejudices through Chloe and make the appropriate adjustments toward the truth. The enterprise will leave some unsatisfied. *Persian Nights* is neither a bodice ripper nor a treatise on the Iranian revolution, but an intriguing compromise: an attempt to show major upheavals as a progress of small shocks.

—By Paul Gray

Excerpt

“Of course she had not really believed Iran would be a foreign land. She saw the deficiency in her imagination, that she had not been able to imagine with sufficient intensity the alien condition. A well-traveled American can with no anxieties about hotels, headwaiters, planes—her imagination had provided her with no more than a benign region of camels, and mosques, and well-run hospitals of the American kind... She had assumed she could put things right... Now she saw that this presumption was naive.”



Books

Chain Reactions

THE MAKING OF THE ATOMIC BOMB by Richard Rhodes
Simon & Schuster: 886 pages: \$22.95

As yet, there is no mythology of the nuclear age, though parallels with the legend of Prometheus are already apparent. Stealing fire from the gods had an incalculable price; the treasure was indistinguishable from the curse.

This is the burden of Richard Rhodes' excellent book about the visionaries whose pure science was alloyed with the tainted art of politics. Bits and pieces of the atom bomb story are well known, especially the dramatic race to Trinity by J. Robert Oppenheimer and his brainy cohort at Los Alamos, N. Mex. In Rhodes' comprehensive view, the blinding flash of that achievement climaxes decades of brilliant ideas, technological innovations and the contributions of incandescent personalities. "Had astronomers been watching," he writes, "they could have seen [the explosion] reflected from the moon, literal moonshine." But moments after the artificial sunburst, witnesses became awed captives of their immediate surroundings: "The horses in the MP stable still whinnied in flight; the paddles of the dusty Aeromotor windmill at Base Camp still spun away the energy of the blast; the frogs had ceased to make love in the puddles."

The quality of Rhodes' narrative history resides not only in the grandeur of its structure but in its details. Hungarian-born Physicist Leo Szilard stepping off a London curb in 1933 and being struck by the shattering of sustained chain reaction; Cambridge's Ernest Rutherford angling for the secrets of the universe with string and red sealing wax; Pierre Curie's hands, swollen by prolonged exposure to radium; the flat feet that kept Albert Einstein out of the army; Nobel Prizewinner Enrico Fermi arriving for an appointment at the U.S. Navy Department and overhearing the desk officer tell his admiral, "There's a wop outside"; F.D.R.'s 13-word handwritten approval of atom bomb research beginning with "O.K.": the B-29 pilot who named a plane after his mother, Enola Gay.

Rhodes, a novelist and social chronicler (*Looking for America*), has a firm hold on the fundamentals of nuclear physics. He describes the first millisecond of the atomic age in New Mexico with eerie precision: "The firing circuit closed; the X-unit discharged; the detonators at 32 detonation points simultaneously fired; they ignited the outer lens shells of Composi-

tion B, the detonation waves separately bulged, encountered inclusions of Baratol, slowed, curved, turned inside out, merged to a common inward-driving sphere; the spherical detonation wave crossed into the second shell of solid fast Composition B and accelerated; hit the wall of dense uranium tamper and became a shock wave and squeezed, liquefying, moving through; hit the nickel plating of the plutonium core and squeezed, the small sphere shrinking, collapsing into itself, becoming an eyeball..."

In the time it took to type this out, mankind had its first radioactive mushroom cloud, and nothing would ever be the same. Project Director Oppenheimer realized this immediately, and his reach into Hindu scripture has become famous: "Now I am become Death, the destroyer of worlds." Even before the test blast, Danish Physicist Niels Bohr foresaw a fundamental change in the relationships among nation-states. Both Hitler and Churchill, on the other hand, failed to grasp the political consequences of the new energy. "After all," said the Prime Minister, "this new bomb is just going to be bigger than our present bombs. It involves no difference in the principles of war."

Rhodes' digressions into the strategies and technologies of World War I and the saturation bombing of cities 25 years later demonstrate how those martial rules became a grisly form of accounting. It was a matter of cost per thousand, the fewest dollars for the most kills. In this banal light, a nuclear bomb is the pinnacle of efficiency, a macabre paradox because it was brought about by the best minds working within a great humanitarian tradition. For the sake of spiritual harmony, it could be said that *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* recounts the second greatest story ever told.

—By R.Z. Sheppard



Richard Rhodes

Friday Night

FOE by J.M. Coetzee
Viking: 157 pages: \$15.95

Robinson Crusoe, apotheosis of the desert island castaway, throws one of the longest shadows in literature. For more than two centuries, he and his black companion Friday have provoked countless imitations, parodies, cartoons and advertisements. But from the earliest days, in addition to the parasol and firearm, the beachcombers have also carried some heavy moral baggage. Rousseau considered Daniel Defoe's 1719 novel vital to the education of ambitious youth; Coleridge regarded Crusoe as the "universal representative"; and Karl Marx found the plot an illustration of basic economics.

J.M. Coetzee, a widely praised South African writer (*Waiting for the Barbarians*, *Life & Times of Michael K.*), sides with the serious Crusoeites. In this terse sequel, he imagines an Englishwoman, Susan Barton, marooned on the same is-

land with the lonely men. For almost three decades, according to the original version, the Yorkshireman lived womanless, out of reach of the English language. In Coetzee's tale, the estrous Susan is in search of an abducted daughter. En route, she becomes the mistress of a ship's captain. Mutineers seize command and set her adrift in a small boat. It grinds ashore on the celebrated island, and within hours she is in the company of the white man and his multitudinous servant, made tongueless by some cruel and nameless enemy.

But this is only the start. After an idyllic interlude, the trio are rescued by a British merchant vessel and taken back to England. Before he can touch soil, Susan's last great love, Crusoe, dies of woe, sighing for his island. In London, Susan finds her way to a tale spinner significantly surnamed Foe—Defoe's real name—and persuades him to tell her story. But Foe keeps emphasizing the wrong themes. Susan rebels and then suffers remorse. "I am growing to understand why you wanted Crusoe to have a musket and be besieged by cannibals," she writes him. "I thought it was a sign you had no regard for the truth. I forgot you are a writer who knows above all how many words can be sucked from a cannibal feast, how few from a woman cowering from the wind."

Some woman. Some wind. Without formal education or social aptitude, she manages to elicit some highly sophisticated concerns: the limits of language ("God's writing stands as an instance of a writing without speech. Speech is but a means through which the word may be uttered, it is not the word itself"); the kinship of the oppressed ("Friday's desires are not dark to me. He desires to be liberated, as I do too. Our desires are plain, his and mine"); and historical irony ("Even in his native Africa, dumb and friendless, would [Friday] know freedom? There is an urging that we feel, all of us, in our hearts, to be free; yet which of us can say what freedom truly is?").

But these very aperçus are what mar the text. In adding to Defoe's repertory company, Coetzee has introduced urgencies that are neither fresh nor illuminated, only brilliantly disguised. Flashing back and forward, scattering allusions, adopting a series of poses and styles, the author is less reminiscent of a prior novelist than of contemporary street mimes who build hints until the audience shouts in recognition. Readers of this achingly symbolic retelling are likely to give a similar response. But will they applaud the author—or will they really be congratulating themselves?

—By Stefan Kanfer



J.M. Coetzee

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Cinema

Rootless People

RAISING ARIZONA

Directed by Joel Coen; Screenplay by Ethan Coen and Joel Coen

Three passions consume the roiling romantic soul of Herbert L. "Hi" McDonough (Nicolas Cage). He has a fondness, though not really much of a talent, for robbing convenience stores. He loves his wife Edwina (Holly Hunter), a police officer he met on his frequent vacations at the local prison. And he shares her desire to create little baby Hi's and Eds. Says Hi, in the daft and plaintive narration that sets the tone for this terrific comedy: "Every day we kept a child out of the world was a day he might later regret having missed."

Alas, as Hi mournfully notes, "biology and the prejudices of others conspired to keep us childless." Translation: Ed is barren, and the adoption agencies are not persuaded that a three-time loser would be a suitable father. Then Hi and Ed hear of a man who has more babies than he could find any honorable use for. This is Nathan Arizona (Trey Wilson), the Unfinished-Furniture King of the Southwest and sire of Harry, Barry, Larry, Garry and Nathan Jr., the famous Arizona quints. It is a temptation no child-hungry couple could resist. They should have, though. For the McDonoughs are soon furiously pursued by their gooney neighbors Dot and Glen (Frances McDormand and Sam McMurray) and their marauding kids, two fugitive brothers named Gale (John Goodman) and Evelle (William Forsythe), and a bounty hunter (Randall "Tex" Cobb) who roars out of Hi's dreams as the Lone Biker of the Apocalypce. Poor Hi and Ed. Raising Nathan Arizona Jr. (T.J. Kuhn) will bring them close torazing Arizona.

On the surface, this looks like *The Ransom of Red Chief* in one more modern movie variation. A couple of emotional nomads pull off a kidnaping, then work like thumb-tied demons to return the booty. But even the surface of a Coen brothers picture looks unlike any other. These two young guys from Minneapolis—Joel, 32, who directs and writes, and Ethan, 29, who writes and produces—proved with their debut film, the gory melodrama *Blood Simple*, that they are shrewd filmmakers who can give a skewed spin to a hoary genre. Compared with their new effort, though, *Blood Simple* was just a five-finger exercise with a knife spiked through the hand. To their old fascination with Sunbelt pathology, to their side-winding Steadicam and pristine command of screen space, the Coens have added a robust humor, a plot that keeps outwitting expectations and a surprising dollop of sympathy for their forlorn kidnapers.



Cage, Kuhn and Hunter: dreams of life

Every character, great or small (and truth to tell, they're all small), has the juice of comic originality in him. In jail with Hi, one convict strums Beethoven's *Ode to Joy* on the old banjo. The bounty hunter—he's real, not just a Hi dream—is a demon road warrior, a warthog from hell who grenades rabbits and torches roadside flowers, can catch flies between his filthy fingers, and has a secret tattoo of Woody Woodpecker on his left pectoral. Gale and Evelle (lots of gender-bent names in this picture) lecture Ed on the importance of breast-feeding as a retardant to criminal behavior. Having kidnapped Nathan Jr. from the original kidnappers, Evelle wanders into a store and, just prior to robbing the place, buys balloons for the child. "These blow up into funny shapes," he asks. "Not unless round is funny," the clerk replies.

O.K., there are lapses. The film's wonderfully orchestrated car chases do linger on, and red-neck ribaldry can pale after a while, and maybe Glen shouldn't have to run smack into a cactus. But who can blame the Coens for blowing up their tale into conventionally funny shapes? Besides, as the brothers demonstrate at the climax, round is funny too. And more than a little poignant. The plot circles back to the quints' nursery, and then to the McDonoughs' bedroom, where Hi has the strangest dream he dare consider. It is a vision into the future perfect, of middle-class stability and continuity, of a paroled child growing up to be a college football star and an old couple with funny names surrounded by a loving family they can never have: "It ain't *Ozzie and Harriet*." Hi had said earlier of his tattered family portrait. But it's a lot funnier, weirdier and more exuberantly original. Just like this movie.

—By Richard Corliss

Bone Crack

LETHAL WEAPON

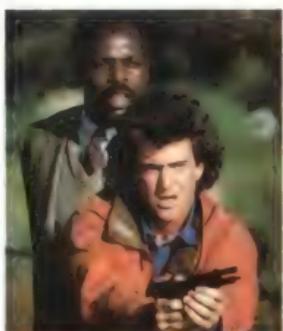
Directed by Richard Donner
Screenplay by Shane Black

What a concept! *Mad Max* meets *The Cosby Show*. What a surprise! It works better than a fastidious mind might imagine. One reason is that Mel Gibson himself has been recruited to play *Lethal Weapon's* lethal weapon, Los Angeles Police Detective Martin Riggs. Sometimes, when Gibson is not wandering the post-atomic Outback, he has a tendency merely to stand around looking internationally handsome. But Riggs is Max's psychological cousin, a man whose wild-eyed courage is based on having witnessed so much cruelty that he no longer cares whether he lives or dies. Gibson knows just how to temper the gaga energy of such figures with odd bursts of sweet innocence.

Fortunately too, Danny Glover plays the Cosby role. Veteran Cop Roger Murtaugh, a solid professional with a patient wife and numerous lively progeny. Glover brings a weary gravity—no cute stuff permitted—to his relationship with his flock and with his new partner. The latter may have a death wish, but Murtaugh has a strong life wish, and the patience to drip it slowly into Riggs' sensibility.

This is no easy task, given the hurly-burly of a crowded plot. The pair pick up the trail of a drug-smuggling ring, and the film never quite persuades us that a smart group like this one would turn on the Murtaugh clan in order to scare off Dad. But it is hard to focus on such fine points, given the dark intensity with which Director Richard Donner stages the nonstop action of the film's final 30 minutes. Among movie bone crackers, he is the one who seems to have an advanced degree in chiropractic. If you are going to submit to a working over, it is nice to be in such expert hands.

—By Richard Schickel



Glover and Gibson: death wish, but lively

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Theater

An Epic of the Downtrodden

Les Misérables sets Broadway sales records—and deserves to

From the bitter opening invocation "Look down, look down," intoned by prisoners in a dungeon, to the anthemic rallying cry "When tomorrow comes," sung at the finale by the spectral dead of revolutionary 19th century Paris, the musical version of Victor Hugo's epic novel *Les Misérables* is a melodrama inflamed with outrage. Its politics always matter more than its love stories. Many of its principals die in violence or grief, but the most unprincipled of them endure and thrive. Like *Nicholas Nickleby*, staged largely by the same team, *Les Misérables* denies itself the indulgence of even a muted happy ending: its last image is of struggle to come. Yet also like *Nickleby*, this epic musical sends audiences out exalted. Handsomely staged, stirringly sung and performed for the most part with consummate craft, *Les Misérables* nonetheless succeeds not so much for its artistry as for its heart. Far more than an entertainment, it is a thrilling emotional experience.

A hit in London and sold out during an eight-week tryout in Washington, *Les Misérables* opened on Broadway last week with advance ticket sales of more than \$11 million—the most in U.S. theater history, nearly double the \$6.2 million record set by *Cats* in 1982. The show is already slated to open in 20 more countries: requests have come from the Soviet Union and South Africa, Bulgaria and Japan. Says Producer Cameron Mackintosh, 40, an impresario whose properties include *Cats*, *Little Shop of Horrors* and the London smash *The Phantom of the Opera*: "*Les Misérables* has the potential to be the most successful musical of the past 20 or 30 years."

Novelist Hugo's chaste story between good and evil—with good ironically represented by a runaway convict and evil by a zealot of a policeman—has captivated audiences from the moment it was published



Last stand at the barricades: amid revolt in Paris, Wilkinson as Valjean, left, contemplates Mann as

in 1862. The original Paris press run of 7,000 copies sold out within 24 hours. Since then the combat between the virtuous thief Jean Valjean and the merciless detective Javert has been retold onstage and in at least 14 films. At heart, the novel's conflict is metaphysical: Valjean believes in the forgiving God of the New Testament, Javert in the retributive God of the Old Testament. The story resounds with images of Christian redemption. Yet it is by turns a panorama of the underclass, a Gothic romance about love at first sight threatened by family secrets, a psychological study and a radical tract. The novel's scale and complexity seemingly defy adaptation to a musical, especially one that in the fashion of opera, sets every word to song. The stage version's triumph is that it captures the book's essence while speaking with absolute clarity to that vast majority of spectators who have not read the novel.

The plot sprawls across 17 years, most

of them so telescoped that to believe the tale spectators must make leaps of faith. Valjean first appears in chains: released after 19 years in prison for stealing a loaf of bread to save his sister's starving child, he remains unrepentant. Given shelter by a bishop, the hardened Valjean robs him, only to be recaptured by police; when the clergyman backs up his false claim that the booty was a gift, Valjean undergoes a moral transformation. He also undergoes a legal one: he destroys his papers, takes a new name and eventually becomes a wealthy man. Twice he risks all to save other men; then, having befriended the dying prostitute Fantine, he once more eludes Javert to devote himself, in hiding, to the welfare of Fantine's child Cosette.

That rapid-fire sequence occupies roughly half of the first act, which is nearly two hours long. The show continues at a pell-mell pace but shifts from incident to soliloquy—seven characters have long so-

Faces of the embittered: Wilkinson, left, and Mann, right; at center, Graff as the unemployed Fantine, driven to prostitution to provide for her child





Javert, right, now a captive instead of a hunter

los, most on a bare stage—and to grand effects, including a doomed 1832 uprising complete with six tons of barricades, eventually heaped with the bodies of the rebels. The nature of the intended revolution remains more than a little sketchy, as does the alliance that binds together the likes of the streetwise urchin Gavroche (Braden Danner) and the idealistic student Marius (David Bryant), the lover of the grownup Cosette (Judy Kuhn). This lack of ideology may enhance the show's appeal: it taps generalized populist sentiment without bogging down in debate.

Just as the moral center of Hugo's *Les Misérables* is Valjean, so the driving force of the stage show is Colm Wilkinson. An Irish singer largely untrained as an actor until he originated the role in London, Wilkinson, 43, has a superb pop-rock voice, whether in the assertive *Who Am I* or the wistful *Bring Him Home*. Unexpectedly, he encompasses the outsize mor-



True collaborators: Directors Caird and Nunn and Producer Mackintosh with the show's logo

al stature of Valjean, making believable both his general saintliness and his outbursts of animal ferocity. Only one other member of the original cast is in the U.S. company: Frances Ruffelle, who as a tomboyish adolescent joins the revolt out of unrequited love for Marius. Many of the other performances rival the West End originals: Randy Graff's splendid Fantine, utterly persuasive when, on her deathbed, she "sees" her absent daughter, is actually an improvement. In three major roles, however, the new ensemble falls flat short: Terrence Mann sings Javert impeccably, but in an effort to humanize him, loses his obsessive core. Leo Burmester as the grasping innkeeper Thénardier and Jennifer Buti as his wife are neither scary nor funny, depriving the show of its keenest image of ignobility while also flattening much-needed comic romps.

Oddly for a work so plot-heavy and meticulously told, *Les Misérables* began life as a score rather than a libretto, appeared as a record album before it reached the stage, and languished for five years between the French and British productions. The original creators, Composer Claude-Michel Schönberg and Lyricist Alain Boublil, owed little to French musical-theater tradition—there isn't much of one—and a lot to rock opera like *Jesus Christ Superstar*. In their 1980 version at the 4,000-seat Palais des Sports in Paris, the show ran little more than half its present length and consisted

of a dozen tableaux vivants accompanied by incidental music during ponderous scene changes. A year later Mackintosh heard the record and found the score so inherently theatrical that he decided to produce an English-language version.

Four years of development followed, during which the show raised its total of credited writers to seven, among them Herbert Kretzmer, who translated the lyrics, and Co-Directors Trevor Nunn and John Caird, who asked for five new character songs—several of which, notably Javert's meditative *Stars* and Marius' farewell to his slain companions, *Empty Chairs at Empty Tables*, became showstoppers. Nunn and Caird reconceived the staging, using one huge revolving turntable inside another—on which sets come and go and characters move from one scene into the next—to achieve a fluid, cinematic style. Also involved from the outset were Designer John Napier and Lighting Designer David Hersey, who provided the monumental look and characteristic haze that at key moments gives way to otherworldly bursts of white glare. Says Caird: "As to which of the creators are responsible for what, it is always impossible to disentangle the complexities of a true collaboration. You lose your contribution in everybody else's, which is one of the most exciting things about the musical theater." Another of the most exciting things about musical theater nowadays, in London or on Broadway, is *Les Misérables*.

—By William A. Heney III

Victims of the revolution: the wif Gavroche, left, and Eponine dying in Marius' arms; at center, the survivors, the grasping, and amoral Thénardiers



Music

Franco Zeffirelli in Chinatown

And a new *Turandot* at the Met

Having raised up the Castel Sant'Angelo from the depths of the Metropolitan Opera in *Tosca* and put half of Paris onstage for *La Bohème*, Franco Zeffirelli must have felt some pressure to top himself with his new production of Giacomo Puccini's *Turandot*. Curious first-nighters, proud holders of the toughest opera ticket of the season, entered the Met last week wondering how far the director's passion for outsize verisimilitude would extend. Would he cut off the Prince of Persia's head and stick it on a pole? Build the Great Wall of China? Or (gasp!) actually respect the libretto and provide a tasteful pageant that would suit the lush, exotic music without overwhelming it?

The answer, as it happens, is none of the above. No one, however, has asked for a refund, for Zeffirelli's vision is as vivid as ever. In addition to Soprano Eva Marton as Princess Turandot, Tenor Plácido Domingo as Calaf, her suitor, and the other principals, there are 286 singers and supernumeraries. By comparison, Zeffirelli's *Bohème* at its most gargantuan fielded a cast of merely 280. Much of the *Turandot* scenery was shipped from Italy in eleven cargo containers, each 40 ft. long. There are 300 costumes, and the headgear alone uses 44 lbs. of pearls, golf balls, chandelier crystals, Ping-Pong balls, espresso coffee filters and rosary beads. Depending on one's perspective, the production is a monument to either glorious or wretched excess.

Zeffirelli Consider: the first act, which the libretto says should take place before the walls of the Imperial Palace in Peking, is set instead in a realistic city of huddled rooftops that stretch away into the distance. Strutting mandarins, bald monks and muscled executioners lord it over a teeming, blood-thirsty Turandot's entrance is made aboard a golden, curtained pleasure pavilion that rises above the city like a ghostly apparition.

But it is Act II that really provides the bang for the buck. Zeffirelli and Costume Designer Dada Saligeri offer a regal gold and mother-of-pearl panoply: high atop a throne in the far reaches of the cavernous stage perches the black-clad, thousand-year-old Emperor (Swiss Tenor Hugues Cuénod, making his company debut at



Pearls, Ping-Pong balls and rosary beads: Marton as Turandot, Cuénod as the Emperor

84). For the first time the Met stage, which has swallowed whole such formidable productions as Nathaniel Merrill's 1966 *Die Frau ohne Schatten*, looks cramped. As is its custom, the Met declines to reveal the spectacle's cost, but best guesses run to about \$1.5 million.

Extravaganzas like this are what give opera both a good and a bad name. Even though the music drama ought to be the focus of attention, there has always been a fascination with sets, props and costumes. At a conservative museum like the Met, which has not presented a world premiere since Marvin David Levy's *Mourning Becomes Electra* in 1967, creativity is necessarily channeled into design. More is more, and the flamboyant Zeffirelli is a perfect symbol of the times. His *Turandot* works, in part because the fantastic nature of the opera can accommodate his cinematic, cast-of-thousands treatment. But it is close.

The problem comes when the line is crossed between splendor and risibility. The troublesome answers to Turandot's three riddles

are contained in pennants attached to the back of her gleaming aqua dress: as Calaf gives the correct answers, her minions unfurl the flags. Too tricky by far, and the opening night audience just laughed. Further, the cast spent much of the performance looking down at its collective feet so as not to stumble across the treacherous obstacle course of risers and steps. As a result, Marton, born for the title role, was oddly tentative, the sturdy Domingo seemed distracted and ill at ease, while Soprano Leona Mitchell's hey-look-me-over *Liu* was too aggressive. Only Cuénod's crotchety Emperor—a Swiss singing Italian the way he imagines a Chinese might—hit the mark. James Levine conducted grandly, and the powerful choruses were declaimed lustily if not suavely.

Tickets for *Turandot* being harder to come by than those for *Les Misérables*, most fans must wait for the TV broadcast next season. As for Zeffirelli, he tackles *Aida* in 1988-89. An anxious opera world awaits the reconstruction of the pyramids. —By Michael Walsh



Domingo as Calaf

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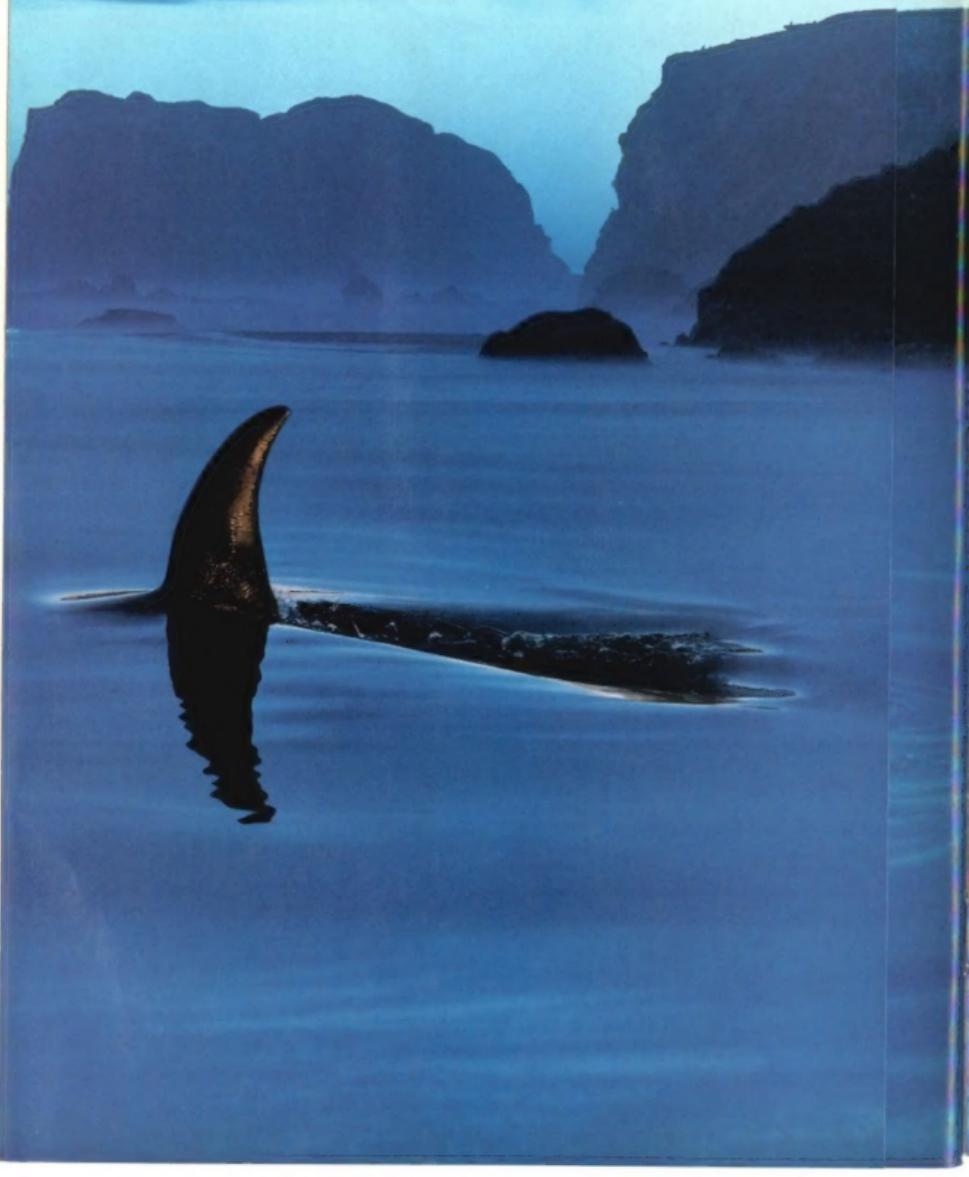
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